

THE

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IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,


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# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

## VOLUME LIV—1925


### THE REVENUES OF BOMBAY.

*(An Early Statement.)*

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

A few months ago W. William Foster, C.I.E., of the India Office, sent me a transcript of an official statement of the Revenues of Bombay, at the time of its transfer to the East India Company in September, 1668. The statement was originally forwarded to Surat with a letter of October 6th, 1668, and was entered in the Surat register of letters received (now India Office Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 105, pp. 23, 24). In sending me the transcript, Mr. Foster suggested that as he had other problems to deal with, arising out of his researches into the Company's early records, I might work the statement into an article for the *Indian Antiquary*. He had himself made a cursory examination of the statement and added a few short notes on some of the doubtful items appearing in it, and these he has permitted me to use. He also advised me that, in his opinion, the scribe who copied the original account into the Surat register had made various errors, both in the headings and the figures. Some of these mistakes are obvious, and help to justify the view that, where the calculations do not work out correctly, he has miscopied or omitted figures.

A few weeks after I had received the statement from him, Mr. Foster informed me that he had discovered a duplicate copy of it in the India Office records (Factory Records, Miscell., Vol. 2, pp. 44, 45). In the latter, some of the words are spelt a little differently from the corresponding words in the original statement. and to these differences I have drawn attention in my notes. Subject to these remarks, I give hereunder the statement in full, with such explanations as appear to me obvious or plausible. In one or two instances I am unable to solve the puzzles presented by the document, the unknown words used probably being indifferent Portuguese corruptions of vernacular terms, to which I have failed to obtain a clue. Perhaps some reader of the *Indian Antiquary* may be able to supplement my efforts in these doubtful cases.—

**Yearely Savastall[1] or Rent Rowle of Bombaim and Jurisdiction.**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Battee[2] muraes[3] 82.1.10 adolains[4] at X.[5] 14½ per mora amount to .. .. .. .. | | | X.[5] | 1,189. 2.57 |
| Bandarins[6] tribute which they pay .. .. | | | X. | 652. 2.30 |
| Colouria[7], or fishermens tribute, comes to .. | | | X. | 3,718. 0.65 |
| Coconutts 467,000 at Xs. 18 per mille amounts unto | X. | 8,406.0.0 | | |
| An orta[8] called Cherney[9] .. .. .. | X. | 400.0.0 | | |
| | | ———— | X. | 8,806.00.00 |
| The hill Vaulquessen[10], nett rents .. .. | | | X. | 39.01.03 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Foros[11], or out rent, was formerly X. 1,235, but since there was severall crowne lands found out, etc. There is X. 332.2.14 reys deducted ; rest .. | | | X. 902.00.66 |
| Rent of severall warehouses (increasing yearely) .. | | | X. 66.00.00 |
| | | Summe is | X. 15,374.01.61 |
| Stanck[12] of tobacco imports .. .. .. | | X. 10,225.00.00 | |
| Customes received in Sir Gervas Lucas time of government the summe of .. .. .. | X. 5,435. 0.56 | | |
| And in the time of Capt. Gary .. | X. 18,920. 0.19 | | |
| | X. 24,355. 0.75 | | |
| being from the 18th February 1667 to the 23rd September 1668, the commissioners that received and collected them being satisfyed, soe that the yearely customes came to about .. .. .. | | X. 18,000.00.00 | |
| Rents of the tavernes imports .. .. .. | | X. 2,450.00.00 | |
| | | | X. 30,675.00.00 |

*Mazagã*[13], *vizt.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Colouria, or fishermens tribute diversly paid in .. | X. 4,198. 1.26 | |
| Palmeiras bravas[14], 936 rents .. .. .. | X. 1,182. 0.75 | |
| Palmeiras mancas[14], 165 rents .. .. .. | X. 0,145. 2.42 | |
| Island of Pattecas[15], 4 .. .. .. .. | X. 11. 0.00 | |
| Battee, 225 muraes at Xs. 14½ per mura .. .. | X. 3,262. 0.40 | |
| Vinzora[16], 60 fedeas[17] .. .. .. .. | X. 3. 0.38 | |
| 24,000 mangas[18] at 15 fedeas per mille .. .. | X. 18. 2.67 | |
| Rent of the botica[19] .. .. .. .. | X. 16. 0. 0 | |
| | | 8,838. 0.48 |
| | Summa totalis. | 54,887. 2.29 |

There is besides a custome of Henry Due[20].

**Yearely Savastall or Rent Roule of Mahim and its Jurisdiction, Drawne out the 31th July 1668.**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maym. | Battee m. 18.18.18, dico m. | 18.18.18 | muraco[22] | |
| | Texxas[21] de Dommigo de Reso | 2.22.00 | 24.4.16 | X. 350. 2.57 |
| | Texxas[21] de Kerr | 0.19.00 | at X. 14½ | |
| | Consertas[23] de Terras | 1.19.13 | | |
| | Coito,[24] vallued at X. 108 per month .. .. .. .. | | | X. 1,296. 0.00 |
| | Foros .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | X. 1,334. 0.00 |
| | Palmeeras bravos[25], 450, each 10 fedeas 10 ba[26] .. .. .. | | | X. 245. 1.17 |
| | Chito[27] .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | X. 23. 2.40 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Two tobacco shopps, X. 36 ; two shopps that sells provisions, X. 36 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | X. | 72. 0.00 |
| | Coconutts, 587,400.0.3, at Xs. 18 per mille per estimate .. | | | | X. | 10,573. 0.60 |
| | The ferry betweene Maym and Bandora .. .. .. .. | | | | X. | 300 — — |
| | | | | | Xs. | 14,195. 1.14 |
| Matunge[28]. | Battee, 55.8, Xs. 14½. Xs. 802.0.8; tobacco shopps, Xs. 12 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | Xs. | 814.00.08 |
| Dozzory[29]. | Battee, m. 8.2 at Xs. 14½ .. .. | | Xs. | 117.00.32 | | |
| | Coolies for Magueria[30] | X. 45.1.15 | | | | |
| | The same for Masul[31] | X. 69.2.17 | | | | |
| | | | Xs. | 115.00.32 | | |
| | Halfe of the marinho[32] of salt.. .. .. | | X. | 35.00.00 | | |
| | | | | | X. | 267.00.64 |
| Pero Vazty his Patty.[33] | Battee, 37 at X. 14½ .. .. .. | | | | X. | 536.01.40 |
| | Battee, m. 17.5 pazzas[34] at X. 14½ .. | | Xs. | 249.1.00 | | |
| | Coolies, for 22 netts .. .. .. | | Xs. | 45.1.16 | | |
| | Anadrees,[35] 40 each 4 fedeas .. .. | | Xs. | 8.1.20 | | |
| | | | | | X. | 303. 0.36 |
| Mucher and Yas,[36] | the ferry yeilds 1,800 fedeas .. .. .. | | | | X. | 94.02.17 |
| Parella.[37] | Battee, m. 148 at Xs. 14½ .. .. | | Xs. | 2,146.0.00 | | |
| | Foros ... .. .. .. .. | | X. | 103.1.40 | | |
| | Coolies pay in 8 months of the yeare .. | | X. | 141.1.40 | | |
| | Palmeiras bravas, X. 18.1.18; oyle shopp X. 14; and tobacco shopp, X. 12 .. .. .. .. .. | | X. | 44.1.18 | | |
| | | | | | X. | 2,435.01.18 |
| Vadala. | Battee, m. 116.22.18, at Xs. 14½, Xs. 1,694.2.74; foros, X. 69.1.8 .. .. .. | | | | X. | 1,764.01.02 |
| Sury[38]. | 17 tisatis[39] of Salt, which vallue at 20 Xs. each tisatis .. .. .. | | X. | 340.0.00 | | |
| | Battee, blacke, 1 murae .. .. | | X. | 12.0.00 | | |
| | | | | | X. | 352.0.00 |
| Pomela.[40] | A marinho of salt .. .. .. .. .. | | | | X. | 21·01·35 |
| Coltem and Bommanelli.[41] | Battee, m. 14.14.12 at X. 14½ .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | X. | 211·00·65 |
| Veryli.[42] | Battee, muraco 32.12.10, at X. 14½ .. | | X. | 464.0.00 | | |
| | Coolies, by agreement .. .. .. | | X. | 450.0.00 | | |
| | Foros .. .. .. .. .. | | X. | 52.1.49 | | |
| | Palmeiros bravos .. .. .. | | X. | 15.0.16 | | |
| | Collee, 6 pay[43] .. .. .. .. | | X. | 12.0.00 | | |
| | Foros de manguerase Calcgo[44] .. .. | | X. | 10.2.00 | | |
| | Bandarins, two .. .. .. .. | | X. | 2.1.— | | |
| | Coconutts, 11,000 at Xs. 18 per [mille per] estimate .. .. .. | | X. | 198.0.00 | | |
| | | | | | X. | 1,204.01.65 |
| | | | | | X. | 22,200. 0.44 |

If we accept a *Xeraphin* as equivalent to about 1s. 6d. sterling, the total revenue of Bombay at this date (1668) amounted to a little over £ 4,000 and of Mahim and its dependent hamlets and villages to about £ 1,665. Some of the calculations, which I have tested, work out correctly, but those in *muras, parras*, and *adolins* do not. It is possible that the old table of equivalents was different, and also that the copyist transcribed some of the figures incorrectly from the original letter. In the case of words like 'Andrees' and 'Vinzora' I strongly suspect the copyist of having misread the words in the original. It is possible that Mr. Foster's further researches may result in the discovery of fresh facts throwing light on these problems. He informs me that Oxenden made a report on the state of Bombay in 1669, but that up to the present he has not discovered a copy of it. Probably it has been lost. But other letters, reports, etc., may yet come to light, which will help towards a solution of the puzzles presented by these early Bombay records.

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1 *Savastall* is probably connected or identical with the Portuguese word *sevastae*. occurring in *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. II. quoted by da Cunha, *Origin of Bombay*, p. 176. da Cunha describes *sevastae* as a Marâthi word for a tax of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., from सवा (*savá*), meaning a quarter more than one. *Savá* is probably the basis of the word *savastall*, which may have been loosely applied to rent or assessment in general.

2 *Battee* is Marâthî *bhât*, Kanarese *bhatta*, "rice in the husk," called *bate* and *bata* by the Portuguese. Battee or Batty is also termed 'Paddy.'

3 *Muraes* is the Portuguese equivalent of 'moorah,' 'mora'. 'mooda', *i.e.*, *mudá*, a measure used in the sale of rice in Bombay. W. Foster writes :—"According to Fryer, the 'moora' contained $12\frac{1}{2}$ 'parras', each of 20 'addalins'. The calculations in those returns, however, seem to show that 25 'parras' went to the 'moora'; and even then there are slight discrepancies." The latter calculation is corroborated by Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, who states that in 1813 one 'moorah' contained 25 'parahs'. It was also equivalent to 4 'candies'. At Bassein in 1554 one *mura* of *batce* contained 3 'candis' (Hobson-Jobson, s. v. 'moorah').

4 *Adolain* appears to be the Marâthî *adholî*, a measure of capacity equivalent to 2 *sers* or half a *pâhalî* (*paylî*) (Molesworth). It is corruptly written *adolce*, *adoly*, and (Fryer) *addalin*. In a letter to Bombay Government of November 4, 1812, the Collector recommended an assessment of $5\frac{3}{4}$ *adholis* per *burga* on salt batty lands (B.C.G., II., 363). It also appears as *adolies* in the schedule of lands granted in *inam* to the heirs of Jamshedji Bomanji in 1822 (B.C.G., II, 376-7); and according to that schedule, 4 *sers* = 1 *adholi*; 30 *adholis* = 1 *parah*; $12\frac{1}{2}$ *parahs* = 1 *moorah*. In the present Statement, however, the equivalents are different, *viz.* :—20 *adholis* = 1 *parra*; 25 *parras* = 1 *mura*, *mora*, etc.

Thus 82 *muras*, 1 *parra*, 10 *adolains* = 82 $\frac{3}{50}$ *muras*. This at X. $14\frac{1}{2}$ per *mora* gives the right amount shown in the column of figures.

5 X. = xeraphin. The original of this word is the Arabic *ashrafi*. W. Foster points out that the table of values was as follows :—80 reis = 1 larin ; 3 larins = 1 xeraphin.

6 Bandarins. These are the Bhandaris, the well-known caste of toddy-drawers and liquor-distillers. Simao Botelho in 1548 spoke of duties collected from the Bhandaris, 'who draw the toddy (*sura*) from the *aldeas*.' Bombay Regulation I of 1808 states that 'on the brab-trees the cast of Bhundarries paid a due for extracting the liquor'. The tribute mentioned in the Statement probably refers to this duty.

7 Colouria seems to be a corruption of *Kolivada* or *Kolivadia* and to be identical with 'Colliarys' (in a letter from Bombay Council to Court of December 15, 1673); with 'Cooliarys,' mentioned in an estimate of Bombay Revenue in 1675; 'Cooleries', mentioned in 1735-36; and 'Cullowdy' or 'Collowree' in 1767. For account purposes the word signifies a head-tax collected from the Kolis in return for the right to fish in the open bays of Bombay, Mazagon, Varli and Parel (B.C.G., III, 308).

8 Orta = *horta* (Portuguese), a 'garden'. Fryer (1673) writes 'hortos,' and Grose (1760) speaks of 'oarts,' a word still in use.

9 Cherney is clearly Charni (oart), which has given its name to the modern Churney Road. See B.C.G., II, for information about the old Charni estate. In the duplicate copy of the statement, the word is written Cherney,—an obvious copyist's error.

10 Vaulquessen. This is a corruption of *Valukeśvara i.e.*, Walkeshwar or Malabar Hill. Simao Botelho (1548) wrote the name 'Valequecer.'

11 *Foro* in Portuguese signifies a quit-rent payable by tenants to the King or Lord of the Manor. This quit-rent tenure was common in Bassein and its dependencies during Portuguese rule. Da Cunha rejects the view that *Foro* is derived from the Latin *Foris* (out of doors, abroad) and suggests that it is derived rather from *Forum*, a public place, 'where public affairs, like the payment of rents or tributes, were transacted.' The words "out rent" in the Statement seem to imply that *Foro* was in some way connected with *Foris* (outside). Actually *Foro* was a quit-rent, which superseded the original obligation on the tenant to furnish military aid to the Sovereign, in return for the possession and enjoyment of the land. The quit-rent under Portuguese rule varied from 4 to 10 per cent. of the usual rental of the land.

12 Stanck. A corruption of the Portuguese *estanque* = a license to sell, a monopoly of a branch of trade, etc. Here it signifies the farming-monopoly or the farm of tobacco.

13 Mazagaon or Mazagon.

14 *Bravo* in Portuguese = 'uncultivated', 'wild,' 'magnificent,' 'excellent.' W. Foster suggests that the phrase means "cocoa-nut trees in full bearing." The duplicate copy of the Statement has *buavas*, an evident mistake for *bravas*. *Manca* in Portuguese = 'defective,' 'imperfect,' 'incomplete.' *Palmeiras mancas* must mean "palm-trees not fully grown."

15 Island of Pattecas, *i.e.*, Butcher's Island. The name is derived from Port. *pateca*, 'water-melon'; and the process of corruption into the modern 'Butcher's' can be gathered from Fryer's statement (1673):—"From hence (Elephanta) we sailed to the Putachoes, a garden of melons (Putacho being a melon) were there not wild rats that hinder their growth, and so to Bombaim." It is marked 'Putachoes' in Fryer's map of Bombay. The corruption into 'Butcher's (island)' had taken place by 1724.

16 Vinzora. This is written "Vinzera" in the duplicate copy of the Statement. The meaning of this word is totally obscure. The word most nearly approaching it in pure Portuguese is *vindouro* = 'future' 'to come after.' But it is more likely to be a corruption of a vernacular term. Could it be *vana-joḍa* = profit from pasturage fees?

17 From the calculations in this Statement the *fedea* appears to have equalled a little more than 12½ *reis*. It was a money of account only—W. FOSTER.

18 Mangas = mangoes.

19 *Botica* = shop or tavern (Port.).

20 Henry Due. This may mean the island (*div, diu*) of Underi (Henery), near Khanderi (Kenery), at the mouth of Bombay harbour. But more probably it refers to Hog Island, which is marked Henry Kenry in Fryer's map—W. FOSTER.

21 *Texxas* appears to be a copyist's error for *Terras*, 'lands'. In the duplicate copy of the Statement, it is written 'Tezzas.'

22 *Muraco* is a copyist's error for *muracs* (see footnote 3 *ante*).

23 *Consertas de Terras*. The meaning of 'consertas' is doubtful. It is possibly connected with Portuguese 'concerto,' meaning 'disposition,' 'disposal,' 'agreement,' 'contract,' 'covenant' etc. The 's' may be a mistake for 'c'.

24 *Coito*. This is perhaps a Portuguese rendering of Marâṭhî *koyti*, a 'sickle,' or Kanarese *koyta*, a 'bill-hook.' It seems to be identical with the "*cotto* or whetting of knives," which appears as an item of Bombay Revenue in a letter of March 27, 1668, from the Company to Surat (B.C.G., II, 58 footnote). The revenue from this item at that date for the whole Island was estimated at 2,000 *pardaos*. It was probably akin to the 'toddy-knife tax' imposed on the Bhandaris, called 'aut salami' at a later date. The tax was imposed on all persons like the Kolis, Bhandaris and others, who used a knife in the performance of their recognized daily occupation.

25 In the duplicate copy of the Statement *bravos* is written *bravaz*. See foot-note 14 *ante*.

26 10 ba. This means 10 *bazaruccos*. According to Yule and Burnell (s.v. Budgrook) the *bazarucco* was a coin of low denomination and of varying value and metal (copper, tin, lead and tutenague), formerly current at Goa and elsewhere on the west coast of India, as well as at some other places in the Indian seas. It was adopted from the Portuguese in the earliest English coinage at Bombay. In the earliest Goa coinage (1510) the *leal* or *bazarucco* was equal to 2 *reis*, and 420 *reis* went to the golden *cruzado*. The derivation of the word is uncertain.

27 *Chito*. The meaning of this item is obscure. The Portuguese word *chito* is the same as *escrito* = 'anything written,' 'a note of hand.' It might possibly be a Portuguese corruption of Marâthî *chiṭṭhu*, meaning 'pay-roll,' 'general account of revenue' etc., or of Kanarese *chiṭṭhi* meaning 'a roll of lands under cultivation.' It may perhaps be assumed to signify miscellaneous revenue written up in the roll.

28 Matunge is Matunga, about 1½ miles south-east of Mahim (Maym).

29 Dozzory. The name in this form cannot be identified. But it will be observed that in two instances the copyist has written 'zz' for 'rr,' viz., 'tezzas' for 'terras,' mentioned in footnote 21 *ante*, and 'pazzas' for 'parras', mentioned in footnote 34 *post*. It is not unreasonable to assume that he has made the same error again and that what he meant to write was "Dorrovy". Dorrovy would easily be written by mistake for "Darravy," which again is a possible Anglo-Indian corruption of "Dharavi", the well-known village in the north of Bombay Island, between Mahim and Riwa Fort. Mr. Foster enquired if it could possibly refer to Dongri, which was often erroneously spelt in the days of the Company. But the main objection to this suggestion is that Dongri did not fall within the jurisdiction of Mahim, whereas Dharavi (Darravy or Dorrovy) obviously would do so. The mention of a salt-pit or salt-pan as one of the items of revenue lends further weight to the view that the place referred to is Dharavi.

30 *Magueria.* This might be Port. *maquia* or *maquieira*, which means 'a fee for grinding corn,' 'a duty per sack of corn'. But Michaelis' *Portuguese-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1906, gives also '*maqueira*', 'a kind of fishing-net'. Read in conjunction with the next item, this appears the most likely meaning. The "Coolies" (*i.e.*, Kolis) would be more likely to be concerned with fishing-nets, than with the fees for corn-grinding, at a creek-side village like Dharavi.

31 *Masul.* I take this to be the Marâṭhî *másolî* and Konkani *masûli*, meaning 'fish'. [Cf. Masulipatam.]

32 *Marinho.* This is the Port. *marinha*, a 'salt-pit.'

33 Pero Vazty his Patty *i.e.*, 'Pero Vaz's assessment', from Marâṭhî *paṭṭi*, 'cess', 'tax'. *Paṭṭi* also means 'ground', 'land'.

34 *Pazzas* is clearly a copyist's mistake for 'parras' (parah).

35 Anadrees. The meaning of this word is wholly obsure. In the duplicate copy of the Statement it is written 'Annadrees', which does not help. It is probably a mis-spelling of some corrupted vernacular word. A suggestion has been made that it may be a mistake for 'Andarees', from *andor*, 'a palki', 'manchil' etc. This word appears in a glossary of Portuguese terms by Dalgado. 'Andarees' or 'Andoris' would then signify 'persons who carry palkis' *i.e.*, Bhois, Kahars etc. But this explanation is not convincing. Possibly the word is "Anâdee", which is stated in the Glossary to a Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the E. I. Company for 1812, to mean "old waste land, or land not cultivated within the memory of man."

36 Mucher and Yas. These words are written "Mucher Andeas" in the duplicate copy of the Statement. I have been unable to trace any place-names resembling these in Bombay. The parishes of Mochein and Vall are mentioned in a Bombay letter to the Court of December 15, 1673, but they were in the 'shire' of Bombay, and not under Mahim. I can only assume that Mucher and Yas were two small villages adjacent to the 'drowned' lands, between which there was ferry-communication at high-tide.

37 Parella = Parel.

38 Sury = Sewri *i.e.*, Sivri.

39 *tisatis.* This is spelt *tisaris* in the duplicate copy of the Statement. The precise meaning of this word is doubtful. *tisaḍî* in Marâṭhî means 'thrice-cleaned rice'. Here *tisati* or *tisari* may be a measure, denoting a multiple of 3.

40 Pomela = Pomalla, a hamlet of Parel.

41 Coltem and Bommanelli. In the duplicate copy of the Statement the second name is written "Bommarelly". The places referred to are Coltem and Bamnoli, two villages north of Parel. Bamnoli which means 'Brahman street' or 'Brahman row' was an ancient landmark, dating from pre-Portuguese days.

42 Veryli = Varli or Worli.

43 Collee, 6 pay. This appears to contain a copyist's error; for in the duplicate copy of the Statement the words are 'Collees pay', *i.e.*, 'Coolies or Kolis pay'. It refers to the tribute or tax payable by the Kolis.

44 Foros do mangueraso Calego. Calego is written Caleyo in the duplicate copy, and is probably a proper name, and perhaps, also, the Portuguese equivalent of a vernacular name, *e.g.*, *Kale*. According to Michaelis, the Portuguese *mangueirai* (plur.-*aes*) means a 'mango-grove.' The whole phrase therefore means 'Quit-rent of the Caleyo mango-grove.'

# CHERAMAN-PERUMAL-NAYANAR.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

THE period from the sixth to the tenth centuries A.D. was one of great Hindu religious revival in South India. Buddhism which had been flourishing well, carried as it had also been to distant countries under royal patronage and missionary endeavour, had gradually begun to decline in sincerity and popularity, and the restless ferment of the times produced in succession several Śaiva and Vaishṇava reformers, who purged the land of the corrupt and effete religions by their own impassioned and soul-stirring hymns of monotheistic *bhakti*, and re-established a purer and more catholic form of Hinduism on the secure basis of single-minded devotion to God. As Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has well said in his *Religious Activity in Ancient Dekhan*, "persons of no mean merit were they, who adorned the firmament of the Indian Reformation, which may be said to have commenced in the seventh century A.D. and a little prior to it and continued its work for a long time. The men it produced were of varying capacities, and all of them arrayed themselves in one work or another in the mighty task of Reform, which, it may be said to their credit, was effected with the least bloodshed, as one is prone to find in other countries under similar conditions."

Of the sixty-three saints who have been mentioned as the premier apostles of Śaivism, and who can be located in the period above-mentioned, Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr, the Brahman boy-saint of Tirunâvalûr was a noted figure, and his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai*, wherein he has catalogued the names of the saints that had lived prior to him, and the *Nûṟṟandâdi* of Nambiyâṇḍâr-Nambi (*c.* tenth century A.D.) were the nuclei from which Śêkkiḻâr (*c.* 1150 A.D.) elaborated at a later date his *Periyapurâṇam*, the Śaiva hagiology, which had acquired so much sanctity as to be classified as the twelfth *tirumuṟai* or sacred collection of Śaiva writings. This Sundara had as his contemporaries Viṟaṉmiṇḍar, Kôtpuliyâr, Mâṇakañjârar, Êyarkôṉ-Kalikkâmaṉâr, Perumiḻalai-Kuṟumbar, Sômâśiyâr and Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ, who have all been included in the exalted galaxy of Śaiva saints.

Of the last-named of them, who was a Chêra king and a specially devoted friend of Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr, Śêkkiḻâr has given the outlines of the religious side of his biography in a few chapters of the *Periyapurâṇam*, and the main incidents of Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ's life are also succinctly summarised in a single verse of the *Tiruttoṇḍar-purâṇam*.[1] The Travancore king Râmavarman (A.D. 1758–98), in the preface to his work on *Nâṭyaśâstra*, called the *Bâlarâmabharatam*[2], makes mention of this king as one of his ancestors.

The *Periyapurâṇam* account is as follows :

With his capital at the seaport town of Koḍuṅgôḷûr, called also Mahôdai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Śeṅgôṟpoṟaiyaṉ, the overlord of Malai-nâḍu. In this illustrious family was born prince Perumâkkôdaiyâr, also called by the significant title of Kaḻaṟiṟṟarivâr[3] (one who understood the speech of all living beings) a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself

1 காவலர்ம கோதையார் கொடுங்கோளூர்க்கோக் கழறியவை யறிந்தகோச் சிலம்போசைக்கருத் தார், நாவலர்கோ னண்பாடிச் சேரனென்றே நவின்று வரும் வண்ணனை நயந்தகோநற், பாவலர் கோப் பாணபத்திரனால் வாய்ந்த பாமர்திரு முகம்வாங்கிப் பணிகோ வெற்பின் மேவியகோ வானைக் குக் குதிரை வைத்த வீரர்கோ வெனையாளுஞ் சேரர் கோவே.—*Tiruttoṇḍarpurâṇasâram*, v. 42.

2 यद्वंशचेरनृपतिर्मधुरापुरीश·
पत्रार्पणेन कनकं प्रद : वसंख्यम् ।
तन्तुन्नवायकुलभक्तजनाय भूयात्
स श्रेयसे निखिलराजकुलप्रदीपः ||–*Bâlarâmabharatam*. ( *TAS.*, IV, 109. )

3 நினைத்தன கொடுக்கவல்லா னிலத்துயிர் கழறுஞ் சொற்க
ளினைத்தையு மறிந்திரங்கு மன்புடைச் சேரமான்காண்—*Tiruviḷaiyâḍarpurâṇam*.

unsoiled by the dissipations of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvañjaikkaḷam in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship. But when Śeṅgôrpoṛaiyaṉ abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince[4] was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple, after he had obtained divine sanction for his reluctant acceptance of the exalted office. He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*uvarmaṇ*), he made obeisance to the washerman in the belief that he was a Śiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes, and that his appearance was a timely reminder to him from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Pâṇabhadra from Madura with a letter[5] of introduction to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches, and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honour that this divine commission implied, even went the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's *protégé*. His devotion towards the god Naṭarâja of Chidambaram grew in intensity, and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*poṟśilambu*) at the end of his daily *pûjâ*[6]. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Naṭarâja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. The royal saint also learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramûrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget His accustomed token to himself. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chêramâṉ and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid, and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram, the favourite abode of the god Naṭanasabhêśa, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nâḍu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Malai-maṇḍalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Poṉvaṇṇattandâdi*.[7] He then proceeded to Tiruvârûr, the headquarters of Sundaramûrti-Nâyanâr, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of *Chêramâṉṟôḻaṉ*, continued unabated in its sincerity till the time of the simultaneous and mysterious exit[8] of both of them from Tiruvañjaikkaḷam. After having composed the *Tirumummaṇikkôvai*[7] in honour of the god Valmîkanâtha during his short stay at Tiruvârûr, the Chêra king

4 சேலுமிகு மலைநாடுவாழ் கொடுங்கோளூர், சிறந்த செங்கோற் கோதையார்
செல்வர் திரு வஞ்சையிறை மெல்லடி பணிந்திட, செய்யபொறை யன்றவ முற
—*Tiruttoṇḍarśatakam.*

5 This verse beginning with 'மதிமலிபுரிசை மாடக்கூடற்' is the first piece in the *Padinôṟântirumuṟai.*

6 —நம்பற்கு
காற்சிலம்பின் சந்தணிந்து கண்ணி யணிந்து தினம்
காற்சிலம்பு கேட்ட திருக்காதோறும்—*Tiruvârûr-ulâ.*

7 This has been collected in the *Padinôṟântirumuṟai.*

8 களையாவுடலோடு சேரமானாரூரன்
விளையாமதமாறா வெள்ளானைமேல் கொள்ள—*Kôyil-Tiruviśaippâ*, v. 4.

कैलासगमने पथि संस्मृतेन
भक्तेन सुन्दरवरेण स चेरभूपः ।
आरुह्य वाहमधिगम्य च शैलमीशे
श्रीसुन्दरेण कथितं चरितं चकार ॥ *Bâlarâmabharatam*, (*TAS.*, IV, 109.)

then accompanied Sundara on an extensive pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chôla and Pâṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned : Kîḻvêḷûr, Nâgaikârôṇam, Tirumaṟaikkâḍu (Vêdâraṇyam), Palaṇam, Agastyâṇpaḷḷi, Kulagar-Koḍikkôyil, Tiruppattûr, Madurai, Tiruppûvaṇam, Tiruvâppaṇûr, Tiruvêḍagam, Tiruppaṟaṅguṇṟam, Kuṟṟâlam, Kuṟumbalâ, Tirunelvêli, Râmêśvaram, Tiruchchuḻiyal, Kâṇappêr, Tiruppuṇavâyil, Pâtâḷêśvaram, Tirukkaṇḍiyûr, and Tiruvaiyyâṟu. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudêśam and reached Koḍuṅgôḷûr, where Chêramân entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting the renowned boy-saint. After a short congenial stay at the Chêra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvârûr, loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti *en route* at Tirumuruganpûṇḍi in the Coimbatore District.

Some time later, Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṇâr paid a second visit to his Chêra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of the miracle of resuscitating a Brahman boy at Tiruppukkoḷiyûr (Avinâśi in the Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvañjaikkaḷam and their king. While Sundaramûrti was thus staying in the Chêra capital, the god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch the saint back to his original abode Kailâsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chêramâṇ-Perumâḷ, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse, and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend, and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pañchâkshara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air, leading the way in front to Mount Kailâsa. The loyal servants of the Chêra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and, despairing of his return, killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chêramâṇ-Perumâḷ gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailâyajñâna-ulâ* [9] (called also the *Âdi-ulâ*), which then received the god's *imprimatur.* This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world at Tiruppiḍavûr (Tanjore District) by a certain Mâśattaṇâr, who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailâsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumiḻalai-Kuṟumbar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara in Kailâsa. on this occasion. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chêramâṇ-Perumâḷ, also reached Kailâsa by a miraculous short-cut, astride the god Gaṇêśa's extended proboscis.

Now as regards the period when Chêramâṇ-Perumâḷ flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual confusion attendant on similar questions, namely that, the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be expected to be collated may be classified as follows :—

(i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kêraḷôlpatti ;*

9 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumurai* ; see also *Puṟanânûru*, v. 395, p. 528.

அன்றுவெள்ளானையின் மீதிமையோர் சுற்றனுகுறச்செல்
வன்றொண்டர்பின் பரிமேற் கொண்டு வெள்ளிமலையரன் முன்
சென்றெழிலாதியுலா வரங்கேற்றிய சேரர்பிரான்
மன்றிடையோது பொன்வண்ணத் தந்தாதி வழங்கிதுவே.

(ii) the biographical sketches of this king, of Sundaramûrti, and of their contemporaries, as narrated in the *Periyapurâṇam* ;

(iii) the *Tiruviḷaiyâdaṟpurâṇam* of Parañjôtiyâr, which mentions the deputation of the lutist Pâṇa-Bhadra to this Chêra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of the god Sundarêśa of Madura ; and

(iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) The *Keraḷôlpatti* [10], a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or chronological authenticity, purporting to be a historical chronicle of the Kêraḷa kings, places the end of the Chêramâṉ rule in the fifth century (A.D. 428), and relates of a certain Bâṇapperumâḷ that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an alien creed. Mr. Logan, linking this information with the *alleged* discovery of a tomb-stone dated in 828 A.D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert re-named Abdul Rahiman Sâmûri, on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion. Now that the institution of the era is more or less definitely attributable to the foundation, or at least the expansion, of the maritime city of Kollam[11] at about this time under the Christian immigrant Maruvan Sapir Îśô, and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chêramâṉ's conversion to Muhammadanism has by scholars been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the mysterious disappearance of a Chêra king, as mentioned in the *Periyapurâṇam*, miraculously or otherwise, and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Maruvan Sapir Îśô and his thriving Christian co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other, and the actual, but later, conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism, as recorded by the historian Ferishta, were commingled in haphazard fashion when the Kêraḷa chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. As the dates given for the Chêramâṉs in this work are not very trustworthy, no implicit reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chêramâṉ rule in the first half of the fifth century A.D., when we know from epigraphical sources of two other Chêra kings, Chêramâṉ Sthâṇu-Ravi and Bhâskara-Ravi, who were reigning in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

From the *Periyapurâṇam* it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyûr, one of the *Ashṭavîraṭṭâṇams* a mile to the south of Tiruvaiyyâru in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ in company with Sundaramûrti, and that it was only in its vicinity the river Kâvêrî parted its swollen waters at the command of god Pañchanadêśvara, so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease[12]. It is therefore highly probable that the Siva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyûr in the Chengannur taluk of the Travancore State, which is traditionally considered to be one of the oldest in Kêraḷa and to have been erected by Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ himself[13], was perhaps built by him and given the same name, in commemoration of the Tanjore episode : and as we also know from a lithic record[14] that it came into existence in A.D. 823, two years before the starting of the Kollam era, Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ, its author, can also be reasonably assigned to the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

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10 *Trav. State Manual*, vol. I, pp. 225 *et seq.*

11 *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. II, p. 76.

12 *Chêramâṉ-Perumâṇâyanâr purâṇam*, vv. 136–39.

13 *Trav. State Manual*, vol. III, p. 508.

14 *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. I, p. 290.

(ii) The *Periyapurâṇam*, which has been acknowledged to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a strictly critical sense, does not however supply in the lives of Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ or of his Nâyaṉmâr contemporaries any clue that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chêra king named Śeṅgôṟporaiyaṉ who was ruling at Kôduṅgôḷûr, the next in succession, Perumâkkôdaiyâr, the Śaiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śeṅgôṟporaiyaṉ (the just Chêra) and Perumâkkôdaiyâr (the great Chêra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Poṟaiyaṉ* and *Kôdai* being but synonymous with Chêra. Although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two Chêra kings,[15] they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya contemporaries of Chêramâṉ are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *vaḷavaṉ* and *teṉṉavaṉ*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the Nâyaṉmâr contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that Sundara is mentioned to have been the *protégé* of a certain Narasiṅgamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ, the chief of Milâḍu, who had his headquarters at Tirukkôyilûr in the South Arcot District, and Sundara himself refers to a weak Pallava king of that period, to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the Tirunâvalûr and Tirukkôyilûr inscriptions a few generations of Milâḍu chiefs with names Narasiṁha and Râma are understood to have ruled in the years A.D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just possible, although it cannot be taken as a definite datum, that a Narasiṉgamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ may have lived in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. as Sundara's patron.[16] The reference to the Pallava also points to a period when the Pallava power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the later years of the reign of Dantivarman (780-830), when Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam had been invaded from the north by Gôvinda III (804) and from the south by the Pâṇḍya Varaguṇa I (825)[17].

(iii) The *Tiruviḷaiyâḍaṟ-purâṇam* of Parañjôtiyâr, which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god the Chokkanâtha of Madura, places in the reign of a Pâṇḍya king, named Varaguṇa,[18] the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (*Viṟagu-viṟṟa-paḍalam*) and the 55th (*Tirumukam-koḍutta-paḍalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture of Êmanâtha the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard Bhadra, and the latter's deputation to a Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ of Koḍuṅgôḷûr with a poem-inscribed cadjan order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by this author is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, as ably proved by Mr. K. S. S. Pillai in his *Tamiḻ-varalâṟu*, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of the lute-player Bhadra in the reign of a Pâṇḍya king who had the name of Varaguṇa, is consistent with the above suppositions relating to the age of Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ and Sundara. We know from reliable sources that Varaguṇa-Mahârâja, the grandson of Jaṭila-Parântaka (770 A.D.) and himself the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman, who ascended the throne in A.D. 862, must have been reigning in the beginning of the ninth century,[19] and

15 There have been kings with these names, *e.g.*, Kuṭṭuvan-Kôdai, Mâkkôdai, Irumboṟai, Kaṇaikkâlirumporai—(*Puṟanâṉuṟu*).

16 *Śendamiḻ*, vol. III, p. 320.

17 *The Pallavas*, page 76.

18 மன்றலந் தெரியன் மார்பன் வரகுணன் செங்கோலோச்சி
பொன்றலங் காவலானிற் பொலியு நாளேமநாதன்—*Viṟaguviṟṟapaḍalam*, v. 2.
மன்னர் தம்பிரானுகிய வரகுணதேவன்
றன்னை வந்தடிபணிந்த னன்றந்திரிக் கிழவோன்.—*Ibid.*, v. 58.

19 *Mad. Epi. Rep.*, 1908, p. 54.

there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts, and in assuming Chêramâṉ to have been this Pâṇḍya's contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

The Pâṇa-Bhadra episode is also referred to in the *Kallâḍam*[20], but as its author Kallâḍaṉâr is, on other grounds, considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy[21], this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chêramâṉ to the beginning of the ninth century A.D.[22]

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavaṉ and Âdi, who was brought up by Adigaṉ and was eventually raised to the Chêra throne, was the Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ of the *Periyapurâṇam*, is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse popularly attributed to Auvaiyâr,[23] which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chêra king, when god Vinâyaka, who was pleased with her devotion, raised her to heaven with his proboscis sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramûrti and Cheramâṉ could arrive at the Kailâsa gates. This is another instance of different episodes relating to more than one Auvai (old woman) being mixed up together promiscuously.

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñânasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nâyaṉmârs in the minor *stôtras* of Saṅkara, and if the *Śivabhujaṅga*, *Śivânandalaharî* and *Saundaryalaharî* are the *indisputable* compositions of the author of the great *Bhâsyas*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the *Śivabhujaṅga*[24] may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foible, which, however much concealed by mythical varnish, was considered too big a blemish to be overlooked by Êyarkôn-Kalikkâmaṉâr, who decided to die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Saṅkara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the ninth century (*c.* 788-820 A.D.) ; and in that case, it is also possible that the Nâyaṉâr's Tiruvoṟṟiyûr episode may have reached his ears. Chêramâṉ may therefore have lived in the first quarter of the ninth century.

Thus, all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ Nâyaṉâr to the beginning of the ninth century A.D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Kêraḷa king Râjaśêkhara of the Talamana-illam copper-plate record[25]. In partial support of that possible identification, these points may be noted.

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20 பரிபுரக் கமபலை யிருசெவிபுண் ணுறும் குடக்கோச்சேரன் கிடைத்திது காண்கென
மதிமலி புரிசைத் திருமுகங்கூறி, யன்புருத்தறிந்த வின்பிசைப் பாணன்
பெறநிதி கொடுக்கென, வுறவிடுத்தருளிய மாதவர் வழுத்துங் கூடற்கிறைவன்.—*Kallâḍam*, v. 11, ll. 25-30.

21 *Sendamil*, vol. XV pp. 107–14.

22 அரும்பார்சோலைச சுரும்பார் வஞ்சி, அதிகனில்லிடை அதிகமான் வளர்ந்தனன்.—*Kapilaragaval*, ll. 119-20. But this Kapilar had nothing in common with the Last Academy, this poem being attributed by some to Viramamuni Beschi.

மதுர மொழியினுமையாள் சிறுவன் மலரடியை
முதிரநினையவல் லார்க்கரிதோ முகில்போன் முழங்கி
யதிரவருகின்ற யானையுந் தேருமதன் பின்வருங்
குதிரையுங் காதங் கிழவியுங் காதங் குலமன்னனே.

24 न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरीश ।
तदा हि प्रसन्नोऽसि कस्यापि कान्तासुतद्रोहिणो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥ ; see also *ante*, XXVI, 109.

25 *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. II, p. 10.

In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the eleventh century(?), published in vol. II, of the *Trav. Arch. Series*, the king Râjaśêkhara has been mentioned with the *biruda* of Seṉṉittalai-aḍigaḷ, which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Siva at Seṉṉittalai, which it may be noted, is a phallic emblem or *liṅga* of great age.[26]

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illam record with the words '*Namaśśivâya*' in place of the almost universal '*Svasti śrî*' : and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of this king to the god Śiva.

The palæography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the ninth century as its age, which was also the period in which Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr and his friend Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ are, as noted above, considered to have flourished. It is also not impossible that, though Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chêra king,' the king Râjaśêkhara may have been respectfully known in the Tamil districts exclusively by that title without the addition of his personal name. The later Chera kings Sthâṇu-Ravi and Vijayarâgadêva were, however, known in the Tamil records as *Chêramâṉ* Kôttâṇu-Ravi and *Chêramâṉ* Vijarâgadêva.

There is again the tradition [27] recorded in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* that a Kêraḷa king called Râjaśêkhara was a contemporary of the great Saṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadguru-ratna-mâlâ-stava* of Sadâśivabrahmendra of the sixteenth century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three dramas and a *saṭṭaka*, which Râjaśêkhara showed to Saṅkara, were *Bâlarâmâyaṇa*, *Viddhasâlabhañjikâ*, *Prachaṇḍapâṇḍava* and *Karpûramañjarî*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Râjaśêkhara, who lived in the court of Mahêndrapâla in the first half of the tenth century, and who could not have been Saṅkara's contemporary, it may be surmised that the author of the *stava* was perhaps misled by the similarity of names to identify a Kêraḷa king Râja-śêkhara with the northern poet of a century later. This leaves the *Śaṅkaravijaya* statement that the Kêraḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if Mâdhavâchârya was not himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals, king and author.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., of Trivandrum in a learned article in a Malayalam Journal[28], has attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Râja-śêkhara may have been a title of the Chêra king Kulaśêkharavarman, the accredited author of the two dramas, the *Tapatîsamvaraṇam* and the *Subhadrâdhanañjayam*, and of a hypothetical third called the *Vichchhinnâbhishêkam*. Against this, it may be said that the name of the Kêraḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Râjakêsari-varman or Mâṛavarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Râjarâja-Paramêśvara-Bhaṭṭâraka *Râjaśêkharadêva*, the first three words being his kingly titles and the last his personal name. The word *Namaśśivâya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulaśêkhara, the author of the *Mukundamâla* and the *Tirumoḻi*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Vishṇu, to whom have also been attributed the abovementioned two published dramas and the hypothetical third.

26 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, p. 69 27 *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. II, p. 10.

28 The *Bhâshâpôshiṇi* for 1917.

In this connection, it may be stated that Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ has elsewhere[29] been indentified with Bâṇa-Perumâḷ, the fourth viceroy of the Perumâḷ line (A.D. 300) according to the *Kêraḷôlppatti*, on the strength of a supposed reference to him in the eighth verse of the *Tirunodittâṉmalai-padigam* of Sundaramûrti—

வரமலிவாணன் வந்து வழிதந்தெனக் கேறுவதோர்
சிரமலியானை தந்தானொடித்தான் மலையத்தமனே—v. 8.

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chêra king. According to tradition, this *padigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kailâsa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him ; and even if this mythological setting is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem, in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to the god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verses can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to the god rather than be applied to the Chêra king, who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following :—

நாயினேனைப் பொருட்படுத்துவான், ஊனுயிர் வேறுசெய்தான்—v. 1.
தொண்டனேனை, யந்தரமால் விசும்பிலழகானை யருள்புரிந்த—v. 3.
வானநன்னாடர் முன்னே, துஞ்சுதன் மாற்றுவித்துத் தொண்டனேன் பரமல்லதொரு,
வெஞ்சின வானைதந்தான்—v. 6.
இந்திரன் மால்பிரமன் னெழிலார் மிகுதேவரெல்லாம் வந்தெதிர்கொள்ள வென்னை
மத்தயானை யருள்புரிந்து—v. 9.

*Vâṇaṉ*, though it may be an alternative form of *Bâṇaṉ*, is also a contraction of the word *vâḻnaṉ* signifying 'one who dwells,' and *varamali-vâṇaṉ* which has been taken as the 'Bâṇa (-perumâḷ) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god, 'the bestower of bounteous gifts.' It is no doubt true that Chêra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems in the *Puṟanâṉûṟu* and the *Padiṟṟuppattu* have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants ; but the *padigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the mythical story that he ascended to heaven with his mortal body and that he directed god Varuṇa, whom he has addressed as 'ஆழிகடலரையாவஞ்சைய ப்பர்க்கறிவிப் பதே' in the last line of the poem to publish this *padigam* to the terrestrial world. From the reference made to god Añjaikkaḷattappar in this last line of the last verse, and from the description of Noḍittâṉmalai in verse 7 that the god of that hill was worshipped by the lord of the sea with his flower-like waves—

'அலைகடலா லரையனலர் கொண்டுமுன் வந்திறைஞ்சும்
உலையணையாதவண்ண நொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே'—v. 7.

29 Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bâṇapperumâḷ of the fourth century A.D., it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvaḷḷuvar in the *Tirukkailâyajñâna ulâ* as *paṇḍaiyôr* seems to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the first century A.D.

(*a*) கண்டு கேட்டுண்டுயிர்த்துற் றறியுமைம்புலனு
மொண்டொடி கண்ணே யுளவென்று—பண்டையோர் கட்டுரையை.

(*b*) இல்லாரை யெல்லாரு மெள்குவார் செல்வரை
யெல்லாருஞ் செய்வர் சிறப்பென்னுஞ்—சொல்லாலே.

one is tempted to locate Noḍittâṉmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Añjaikkaḷam and not equate it with the Kailasa hill in the midst of the Himalayas. '*ஆழிகடலரையா வஞ்சையப்பர்*' appears to have a possible reference to the geographical location of Tiruvañjaikkaḷam on the sea-shore and this is just the description that Sundaramûrti has indulged in in each verse of the poem pertaining to that place.[30] Kailâsanâtha's temples are very common in many places and the hill Noittâṉmalai wherever it was, must have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva; and it is not unlikely that Sundara, who may have gone up to worship that god, was followed soon after by his royal host and that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs *Tirunoḍittâṉmalai-padigam* and *Tirukkailâyajñâna-ulâ*. Some mysterious causes, not definitely ascertainable now, may have led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living and their accredited piety may have then attracted to their glorification the supernatural episode of a celestial ascent to Mount Kailâsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the *Tirukkailâyajñâna-ulâ* of Chêramâṉ is also worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of the god Śiva, who was seated in the *Tirukkôyil* (*śrîkôyil*—temple ?) at Sivapuram.[31] The large number of *âgamic* terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration of the ornaments with which Siva was decked seems to suggest that the royal poet had before him a sculptural representation of Siva, which he naturally identified with the higher divinity of the Silver Mount. The terms that have been used are the following : *chûḷâmaṇi, paṭṭam, makarakuṇḍalam, kaṇḍigai, channavîram, kêyûram, udarabandham, kaṭisûtram. kaṅkaṇam, vâchikai, kiṅkiṇi, mêkhalâ, hâram* and *jaṭâmakuṭam* among ornaments and *jhallari, bhêri, karatâlam, maddalam* and *dundubhi* among musical instruments.

It can thus be tentatively assumed that the Chera king Chêramâṉ-Perumâḷ, who was the contemporary of Sundaramurti-Nayanar, was in all probability king Râjaśêkhara of the Talamana-illam copper-plate and that he flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

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30 *சந்தித்தடமால்வரைபோற்றிரைகடனியாரிட றங்கடலங்கரைமே*
*லந்தித்தலைசெக்கர் வானேயொத்தியா லணியார் பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே* —v 3.
*மழைக்கு நிகரொப்பனவன்றிரைகள்வலித்தெற்றிமுழங்கிவலம்புரிகொண்*
*டழைக்குங் கடலங்கரைமேன் மகோதையணியார் பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே*—v. 4.
It may also be noted that '*கடலரையர்*' is the name of a class of people living on the sea-coast.

31 It is not imposible that Śivapuram is identical with Tiruchchivappêrur (Trichur), whose god Vaḍakkunnâthan, (Vadakkunnu-nâthan, the Lord of the northern Mount-Kailâsa) is, in tradition, supposed to be the god Śiva of Kailâsa itself, who was requested by Paraśurâma to manifest Himself in this temple; but Trichur is not on the sea-shore.

# THE COUSIN IN VEDIC RITUAL.

BY A. M. HOCART.

IN various papers I have collected information which shows that the maternal relations, but more especially the sister's son, eat the sacrifice as representatives of the gods or ancestral spirits ; that among certain people they are beaten for doing so, and that this beating is part of a sporting or ceremonial enmity between them and the paternal relations.[1] Mr. Perry in his *Children of the Sun* has collected numerous instances of the hostility between intermarrying groups, though he has not sufficiently brought out the friendly character of this hostility. Those sources must serve as introduction to the present paper, in which I take for granted the ceremonial hostility of cross cousins, that is a man and his mother's brother's son or father's sister's daughter.

The Vedic sacrifice, and indeed for that matter the Mediæval Indian sacrifice, was conceived as a victory over the evil powers opposed to the sacrificer.[2] This conception is often expressed in the formula *pâpmânam tad dviṣantam bhrâtṛvyam hatvâ*,[3] which Eggeling translates, "Slaying his wicked spiteful enemy." The word 'enemy' stands for *bhratṛvya*, a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, but which anyhow is derived from *bhrâtṛ*, brother. Professors MacDonell and Keith discuss the word in their Vedic Index thus: "Bhratṛvya is found in one passage of the *Atharvaveda*, where, being named (V. 22.12), with brother and sister, it must be an expression of relationship. The sense appears to be '(father's) brother's son,' 'cousin,' this meaning alone accounting for the sense of rival, 'enemy' found elsewhere, in the *Atharvaveda*, and repeatedly in the other Saṃhitâs and Brâhmanas. In an undivided family the relations of cousins would easily develop into rivalry and enmity. The original meaning may, however, have been nephew, as the simple etymological sense would be 'brother's son'; but this seems not to account for the later meaning so well. The *Kâthaka Saṃhitâ* prescribes the telling of a falsehood to a Bhrâtṛvya, who, further is often given the epithets 'hating' (*dviṣan*) and 'evil' (*apriya, pâpman*) in the later *Saṃhitâs* and the *Brâhmaṇas*. The *Atharvaveda* also contains various spells, which aim at destroying or expelling one's 'rivals'."

I do not agree with the learned authors that the meaning 'father's brother's son' alone accounts for the sense of enemy. After considerable experience of undivided families I cannot see the transition. On the other hand we have abundant evidence from South Africa to North America that enmity is prescribed between a man and his mother's brother's son. I have therefore asked Professor MacDonell if there is any evidence for the father as against the mother, and he replies, "I do not think there is any evidence that it means *father's* brother's son, nor on the other hand that it is *mother's* brother's son. It would certainly be interesting, if it could be proved. But I doubt if it ever could."

I am not so certain that it never could : by direct evidence, doubtless, it is impossible ; but there is such a thing as circumstantial evidence, which is often better than the direct.

Firstly, a presumption would be created in favour of the mother, if it could be proved that the Vedic kinship system was classificatory. Morgan in his *Systems of Consanguinity* assumed it to be individual like ours ; but of late grave doubts have arisen in my mind as to whether the parent Indo-European system was not classificatory. Now in a classificatory system the father's brother's son would be a brother, so that a different word would not be used, except in a transition stage to an individual system. But a mother's brother's son would be distinguished from a brother.

1 'The Uterine Nephew,' *Man*, 1923, No. 4. 'The Maternal Relations in Indian Ritual,' *Man*, 1924, No. 76 Buddha and Devadatta, *Indian Antiquary*, 1923, p 267.

2 *E.g.*, *Satapatha*, VI, 2. 4. 7 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, XII, 7. 3. 4.

Secondly, there is the comparative method. It is a well known fact that customs may survive in out of the way places for thousands of years after they have disappeared in their country of origin. Egyptologists have given us instances of such persistence which would have been thought incredible a few decades ago. We may, therefore, have good hopes of finding the Vedic theory of sacrifice surviving in the backwaters of India, Indo-China, and Indonesia, and I appeal to all students of those regions to take down carefully *verbatim* descriptions of sacrifices, to note the kinship system, and to note the functions of the various relations in all ceremonies, whether they are obviously religious or apparently secular.

We come very near the evidence required in Fiji and in South Africa, where the man who is sister's son and cross cousin to the tribe seizes the offering and is beaten by the cross cousins. Among the Thonga we are told distinctly that he does so as representative of the gods. It must however be remembered that both among the Fijians and the Thonga the distinction between gods, demons, manes, ghosts, has disappeared or almost so, and all of them are commonly spoken of under the same generic term.[4]

Let us see who appears as *bhratṛvya* in Vedic ritual: there is Vṛtra[5] and there is Namuci, both demons. But we must first of all get it firmly implanted in our minds that the word 'demon' is a purely conventional and somewhat misleading translation of *asura*; demon to us means a wicked being, but an *asura* is nothing of that kind; he is a rival of the gods, but he can be very good, and even a saint, as for instance Bali in the myth of Vishnu's Three Steps. True, Vṛtra is spoken of as 'wicked,' 'sinful,' but on the other hand he is identified with Soma,[6] the plant which yields the sacred beverage of Vedic sacrifices, and Soma is such a kind god that he has given rise to an adjective *saumya*, 'agreeable, pleasant, auspicious.' Indeed, it appears to be a sin to slay Soma, as they do when they crush him in order to prepare the sacrificial draught; therefore they crush him with stones to restore his body and bring him to life.[7] Soma is also the moon,[8] and therefore Vṛtra is the moon; and the moon is not evil, in fact many families in India boast of their descent from the moon. Namuci seems to be but a variant of Vṛtra: he too is Soma, and is thus a mixture of good and evil.[9]

It is obvious that the hostility between the sacrificer and the demons cannot be a real one, one infused with hatred. No doubt texts will be quoted in which expressions of hate or contempt occur, but it does not follow that they are real. In Fiji one tribe goes out of its way in the midst of a *kava* formula, (which corresponds to the Indian Soma chant ?), to call their cross cousins[10] fools; yet the relations between the two tribes are most friendly, boisterously friendly, and if they meet they will make a point of insulting one another, "You cad, you body fit to be cooked," and so on without the least bit of ill feeling. They will cheat one another, just as the *Kâthaka Saṃhitâ* prescribes should be done to a *bhrâtṛvya*, and think it a great joke which binds them all the closer together.

But if *bhrâtṛvya* is a cross cousin, how do demons come to be called cross cousins ?

Over and over again the *Satapatha Brahmaṇa* informs us that the sacrificer is the god Indra;[11] if the sacrificer can impersonate the Sun god, why should not his cousin represent the Moon god ? Whether the cross-cousin was actually present or not, the following

4 On the meaning of the Fijian word 'Kalou,' *Journ. Roy. Anthro. Inst.*, 1912, p. 437.
5 *Satapatha Brahmana*, I, 2. 4. 3.
6 *Ibid.*, III, 4. 3. 13.
7 *Ibid.*, III, 9. 4. 2.
8 *Ibid.*, I, 6. 4. 12f.
9 *Ibid.*, XII, 7, 3. Cf. I, 6. 3. 17.
10 *tauvû*.
11 *Ibid.*, III, 3. 3. 10; III, 4. 3. 16 *et passim.*

passage of the *Satapatha*[12] makes my suggestion possible, if not probable: "The household altar has the sacrificer as its deity; but the Southern altar has the *bhrartṛvya* as deity." If the deity of one is an actual person impersonating a god, it would seem by analogy that the deity of the other is also an actual person impersonating a god.

I said at the beginning that in later India the maternal relations eat the sacrifice as representatives of the manes, or ancestral spirits. I know no definite evidence that the *bhratṛvya* eats the sacrifice, yet the opening sentence of the Namuci legend rather suggests it: "Namuci, the demon (*asura*), stole Indra's vigour, the essence of his food, the enjoyment of his *soma* along with his liquor."[13] The sequel shows that he did so by drinking the *soma*, for when Namuci's head is cut off, the soma is mixed with blood. But why should the cross cousin eat the sacrifice? I cannot tell as yet, but I think we have a clue in the following passage of the *Satapatha*: "When about to strike Soma he thinks of the one whose rival he is, I strike So and So, not thee. Now whoever kills a human Brahman here is despised; how much more he who kills Him; for Soma is a god......Or if he has no rival, let him think of a straw; thus no guilt is incurred."[14] I suggest that he eats it or part of it to take upon himself the evil (*pâpman*) that is inherent in it, thus leaving it free from evil for the sacrifice. In other words he acts as scape goat, as bearer of ills, and as such is reviled, despised, but only for make-believe, not with any feeling; in Fiji and South Africa he is, like a scape goat, driven away.[15]

Finally, the *asura* appear as *bhratṛvya*. Now the *asura*, as I have said are not really demons, but simply a class of gods who are constantly contending ceremonially with the other class of gods called *deva*. Now both *deva* and *asura* are descended from Prajâpati: if it could be established that they are the male and the female line, then it would be pretty well proved that *bhratṛvya* means mother's brother's son. Unfortunately, the *Râmâyaṇa*[16] is said by Hopkins[17] to represent them as the elder brothers of the *deva*. However, the *Râmâyaṇa* is not first class evidence on this point. It was written centuries after the Vedic period, at a time when the cross-cousin system had disappeared from Northern India; so the author would no more appreciate the difference between a father's brother's son and a mother's brother's son, between a *bhratṛ* and a *bhratṛvya*, than a Sanskrit scholar unacquainted with the comparative history of kinship.

The reader may have noticed in the course of this discussion some striking analogies with Christian ritual. Is the cross-cousin the forerunner of "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world?"

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12 *S.B.*, II, 3. 2. 6. 13 *Ibid.*, XII, 7. 3. 14 *Ibid.*, III, 9. 4. 17.

15 My first suggestion was that the uterine nephew was driven away because the ghosts went with him, and people were afraid of the ghosts. I think the present theory is more satisfactory.

16 2. 25. 16. 17 *Epic Mythology*, p. 47.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT for 1923; Government Press, Bangalore. 1924.

This is an interesting report, containing a record of much good work in the exploration of ancient temples and other monuments. A curious side-light on old trade customs is furnished by the Basava temple in Turuvêkere town. In front of it stands an old stone framework, known as *Chintâlu-kambha* and consisting of two pillars fixed side by side and a cross-beam furnished with iron rings. Turuvêkere, it appears, was once a great centre of the cotton trade, and all the cotton which left it was weighed in front of the temple and stamped, the weight thus determined being accepted as accurate in other markets. A full description, with plates, is also given of a beautiful Vishnu temple at Belvadi, dating from A.D. 1300. During the year the archæological department acquired fifty-three new manuscripts, dealing with the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*, with philosophy, grammar and logic, and one hundred and thirty new epigraphical records. Of each of the latter the report gives an English transliteration and a useful note on their contents and significance. Many of these inscriptions record the death of individuals when assisting to repel cattle-raids, among the earliest of them being one from the Simoga district, assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D., which describes how a military commander was killed in a fight with a tribe of Bedars forming the army of Mahendra, who opposed Silâditya's claim to sovereignty over Śimoga. Dr. Shamasastry is inclined on palæographic grounds to identify Silâditya with Harshavardhana Silâditya of Kanauj and Mahendra with the first or second Mahendravarma of the Pallava dynasty.

An attempt has been made in the Report to fix definitely the date of the early Guptas, who are understood to have been contemporaries of the Kadambas, by examining the traditional, astronomical and synchronistic evidence bearing on the chronology of the Brihadbanas, Kadambas, and Gangas. Dr. Shamasastry rejects Fleet's conclusions as to the date of Mahavira's death and the chronology of the early Guptas, and in the course of his remarks, which are sufficiently interesting to merit separate publication, expresses his belief that Kalki was a historical figure, who lived from A.D. 402 to 472 and commenced a new era in A.D. 428. His conclusions, which are embodied in a comparative chronological table, are not likely perhaps to command immediate acceptance; for, in order to make them fit in with accepted facts and probabilities, he is obliged to postulate the existence of two Mihirakulas and two Toramanas, for which there is no historical warranty whatever. He also has to assume that the Chandragupta who accompanied Bhadrabahu to Sravana Belgola was not the great Mauryan emperor, but Chandragupta II who, according to Dr. Shamasastry's calculations, was alive in A.D. 282. In the light of our present knowledge, one hesitates to accept these novel theories. At the same time there is much of interest in the details of Dr. Shamasastry's argument, which might well be published as a separate pamphlet.

S. M. EDWARDES.

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SUTTANIPATA. By P. V. BAPAT, M.A., 1924.

It is a welcome sign of the times that Indian scholars, following in the foot-steps of their European confreres, are taking seriously to the study of Pali as one of the Indian literatures, and the study of its language and its literature is gaining in popularity. The study of this language and literature has so far remained practically a European study, and has received but little attention among Indian scholars and educationists. In this department as in other fields of oriental research it was but right that European scholarship should set the example, but the only point of regret about this particular department of Indian studies is that Indian scholarship did not make any effort to follow the good example. A variety of reasons may be offered in explanation, and among them, one of the minor ones, if not a really serious one, has been popular editions of these works with sufficient aid for mastering the technique of the language and literature. An attempt is being made in the last few years to remove this drawback, and this Dêvanâgari edition of the *Suttanipâta* is one of these early efforts.

The *Suttanipâta* does not need any introduction to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, as it has been published by the Pali Text Society and an excellent translation of it is available in the Sacred Books of the East by Fausböll. The edition being in Roman letters, Indian students do not find it easy or happy for reading, and the Indian Pandit is absolutely unable to do so. The presentation of this in Devanagari would make it easy for those two classes, and, even the Indian scholar would find his work quicker with a Devanagari edition. Prof. Bapat has provided a good edition of the text and has provided the text with an illuminating introduction, which gives an idea of the important position that *Suttanipâta* occupies in the Buddhist canon.

We welcome the edition and the effort that it makes to bring the Pali text within the reach of Indian scholars. We hope the effort will have a sufficiently encouraging reception to cause Prof. Bapat himself, and other scholars like him, to go ahead with this good work.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

INDIAN MEDICINE.—1. AN INTERPRETATION OF ANCIENT HINDU MEDICINE. By CHANDRA CHAKRABERTY, Calcutta 1923; 2. A COMPARATIVE HINDU MATERIA MEDICA. By CHANDRA CHAKRABERTY, Calcutta, 1923.

Two more books on Indian Medicine written in New York and published in Calcutta in the same year by that indefatigable writer on this subject, Mr. Chandra Chakraberty. The second of these works seems to have arisen out of the first. It is in fact a dictionary of *Materia Medica*, arranged according to Sanskrit terminology in the order of the Devanagari alphabet. It has the inevitable Indian defects of misprints, and no index, a general 'happy-go-luckiness,' and no references to the sources of information. Two additional notes appear at the end, of course out of order. But that does not matter much; what does matter is, that they are introduced without any warning to the reader, who will doubtless consequently miss them. Subject to these remarks, the book is no doubt of use to medical practitioners in India.

One remark in the author's preface I can heartily endorse: "a drug in its native fresh state is much more efficacious than when it has undergone chemical changes." I have long thought that there is something not altogether right about concentrated drugs, and have wondered why medical men, who also strongly object to concentrated foods, should lay so much stress on concentrated medicines.

The first book is much more ambitious. The author writes in his 'Foreword' that he started to write a comparative study of Hindu and Greek Medicine, but gave it up, as he was "forced to the conclusion that the Ancient Greek Schools of Medicine were indebted to the Hindu systems." This conclusion he proceeds to prove to his own satisfaction after a method that is now fashionable among certain Indian *literati*. Leaving this controversial point there, he has "tried to interpret and explain the Ancient Hindu Medicine principally based upon Charaka and Suśruta in modern medical terminology." He gives also a transliteration table, with which one cannot find serious fault, and adds that he regrets he had not time to add an index, the absence of which naturally greatly reduces the value of this book.

"Modern medical terminology" is employed in the book with a vengeance, so much so that the correct rendering of the ancient Indian terms could only be seriously checked by a competent physician with a competent knowledge of Sanskrit. There is in fact always much danger in translating ancient technical works in the modern terms of another language.

The book has been carefully compiled, though there are signs of haste and insufficient enquiry. *E.g.*, "even one can suffer fatal injury, especially to the nervous system, by the rapid vibration of air, as near the passage of a high-speed projectile, of which there have been numerous victims in the recent war, and it is known as '*shell-shocks*' (p. 119)." This statement will at any rate mislead any Indian medical man who accepts it. In another place it is stated that electricity was fully understood in the ancient days: a statement that is at least doubtful.

Despite its defects the book will no doubt be of great interest to those who can master and understand its terrible technicalities. R. C. TEMPLE.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

48. The first known instance of a Hospital Matron in India 1706.

5 *November* 1706. Consultation at Bombay Castle. Resolved and Unanimously agreed that Serjeant Parkers wife shall upon her declareing her willingness to accept [and] Carefully live in the Hospital and diett all such Persons as are apointed in thither to be cured of their Severall Indispositions, to have the accustomed allowance with a Cook and Cooleys monthly paid for that Purpose, and Wood and Oyle, with what other necessarys has bin heretofore or ought to be for preserving the health of our Countreymen, and if said Womans husband, Serjeant Parker [who has] the Character of a Sott shall leave said Beastly vice and become Sober, [he shall] want no Encouragement suitable to his Reformation, but it continues in said Evill, the Generall is desired immediately to break him, and at no time hereafter to have any Command.—*Bombay Public Consultations*, vol 2. R. C. TEMPLE.

49. Catholic Disabilities.

12 *May* 1705. Consultation at Fort St. George. There being Never an Ensign now in the Garrison the Governor propose[s] Serjeant Dixon and Serjeant Hugonin for Ensigns, one in each Company. The Objections against Dixon is from an Obsolete order of the Old Companie that no Roman Catholick should Bear Command in the Garrison, but in Regard that they have since employd Commanders and Supra Cargoe[s] to India that have been profeced Romans catholicks, we hope it May Warrant us Making this Person an officer, he being likewise one of the Best souldiers we have in the Garrison, and tis Not Unlikely but his preferment may make him return again to the Protestant Religeon. Tis therefore agreed that the two afforo Said Persons be made Ensigns and that the secretary drawes out their Commissions accordingly.—*Madras Public Proceedings*, vol. 83, p. 103.

R. C. TEMPLE.

# REMARKS ON THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.
*Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from A.D. 1894 to 1903.*

(*Continued from Vol.* LII, *page* 224.)

## III.

### Brown's Andaman Islanders: System of writing the Language.

I now turn to Mr. Brown's observations on the languages and their transcription. In Appendix B (pp. 495–7) he gives an account of his "spelling of Andamanese words," and he summarises his explanation by a statement *more suo*: "in writing the words of the Andaman languages I have used a slightly modified form of the 'Anthropos' Alphabet of Father Schmidt, which I consider to be by far the most scientific alphabet for writing down the languages of primitive peoples." I propose to examine this reason for throwing over the method propounded by the late A.J. Ellis and adopted by Mr. E. H. Man, myself and others for half a century.

Mr. Brown gives first the consonants printed thus:—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| k | g | y | ŋ | | |
| | č | ǰ | | | |
| | | | ń | | |
| t | d | | n | l | r |
| p | b | w | m | | |

It will be perceived that we have here three that are diacritically marked č ǰ ń and not used in the Roman script at all; also an invented ŋ, though it is used by other phonologists. It is explained thus: "the letter ŋ is used for the nasalised guttural stop (*ng* in English) which should always be written with one letter, since it is a single consonant, quite distinct from the double consonant *ng* of 'ungodly.'" There are, however, three ways of pronouncing *ng* in English as in 'singer,' 'finger' and 'ungodly.' These on Mr. Brown's system would be written siŋer, fiŋger and ungodly. The *ng* in the last is not a double consonant, but two separate collocated consonants. In native Indian scripts double consonants (*i.e.*, two collocated consonants, the inherent vocal of the first of which is stopped) are written by a ligature, whereas two collocated consonants are each written out in full. The almost universal guttural nasal, written by a separate character in native Indian scripts, is so common in Far Eastern Languages that its existence has had to be faced in official scripts. The Malay States Government writes it *ng*, and where *g* follows it the official English script writes *ngg*. Mr. Brown would write it ŋ*g*. Would he, however, become more intelligible to the English reader in a general book such as this? Is it really more 'scientific,' except for phonologists?

We next come to the more difficult subject of palatals and dentals. Here Mr. Brown writes: "the letter ń stands for a palatalised *n*, something like the sound in French '*agneau.*'" But why use ń for this palatalised *n*, when *ñ* is not only available in many European languages, but has been long established and actually adopted for this very purpose by the French Geographical Society? Why also print it, as Mr. Brown does, in a line by itself, as if it did not belong to *č* and ǰ? The palatal *n* exists in English, though it is not specially marked in the script, in such words as *nude, numeral*, etc.

Then Mr. Brown writes: "The *č* and ǰ, which, in the 'Anthropos' Alphabet represent the sounds in English 'church,' and 'judge', respectively, should I think really be written *t'* and *d'*. The *t'* is a palatalised t, as heard in 'Tuesday,' whereas the *č* is fricative, often regarded as a compound of *t* and *sh*. It is not always easy to distinguish *t'* from *č* and *d'* from ǰ, but I believe the Andamanese sounds are really *t'* and *d'* and this is to some extent confirmed by the fact that they have no *s, z, sh* or *zh* in their languages. I have used the *č* and ǰ because former writers had written these sounds, *ch* and *j*, and it seemed worth while to make some sacrifice of scientific exactness in order to avoid too great a divergence in spelling

from previous workers in the same field." Some of the above paragraphs I do not understand and it seems to me that the argument is a result of mixing up two classes of palatals.

The palatals are the most difficult of the consonants to deal with. They are the most indefinite of the consonantal sounds, because they depend on the mode of speech : whether one uses the flat of the tongue or its tip or its tip curled over in speaking. *E.g.*, the Englishman's tendency is to use the tip, the American's to use the flat, retaining thus the old English tendency. The result is that the two countries do not produce the same sounds for the same consonants, and what is more readily noticeable the same sounds for the same vowels. This is to say that the classes of surds that in " English " are written *ch* and *t*, with their respective sonants, are not pronounced in the same way in England and in America, nor are the vowels that accompany them. The consonants written *r* and *l* are also equally affected and are not pronounced in the same way in the dialects of the two countries.

Then there are the " fricatives " represented in English by the surds *s*, *sh* and *th* and their sonants, which are so close to the palatals that they are in many tongues hardly distinguishable and in some not at all. *E.g.*, A Tamil speaking ' English ' will say ' sea-chick ' as alternative to ' sea-sick ', a habit clearly visible in Tamil versions of the ' Sanskrit ' script. The Eastern European has always a difficulty here, as shown by their scripts and their methods of writing their languages in ' Latin ' characters, and so have the speakers of the Dravidian languages of India. English has none.

Lastly there are the dentals, varying greatly according to the use of the palate or the teeth combined with the flat, tip or turn over of the tongue in pronunciation. So that one gets a ' hard ' (turned back tongue) and ' soft ' (flat of tongue) palatal *t* and *d*, as in Sanskrit, or a ' hard ' (tip of tongue) and ' soft ' (flat of tongue) palato-dental *t* and *d*, as in English. Combined with a purely liquid consonant, *y*, the soft palatal and palato-dental *t* and *d* tend to become pure palatals of the *ch* and *j* class. *E.g.*, in English " picture, grandeur, ' honest Injun.' " In some languages, *e.g.*, those derived from the Indian Prakrits, the hard palatal sonant (*d*) spoken with turned back tongue is so little distinguishable in pronunciation from a hard palatal *r* that they are often written in vernacular scripts as alternatives for each other.

Three observations stand out as the result of such considerations :—

(1) The two classes of palatals recorded in various recognised scripts in various forms represented in English by *ch* and *j* and by *t* and *d* are often so close that the boundaries between them are indefinable.

(2) It is not practicable, except perhaps for purely phonetical purposes, to try and do more than generally indicate them on paper.

(3) Every language so varies from its sisters in methods of pronunciation—even every speaker of it from his neighbours (the very formation of the roof of a mouth, of its teeth, and of its tongue, is enough to make a difference in the sounds individuals utter)—that it is not practicable, to achieve more, for any but specialised readers, than a general indication in any one language of the words of another.

It is, therefore, not necessary to go beyond one's script or language to show another reader of it, except in a few instances, how a particular people talks. One cogent reason is that unless that reader has special knowledge of the reference to another language it is useless to refer him to it. It is useless to tell an English reader, not educated *ad hoc*, that *a* is pronounced as in German and final *n* or *m* as in French, unless he is familiar with those languages—even assuming that the sounds of those letters are constant in them.

The following remarks make clear how dangerous it is to make this kind of comparison. In *Alphabets of Foreign Languages transcribed into English* (R.G.S. Technical Series : No. 2, 1921), Lord Edward Gleichen and Mr. J. H. Reynolds show that the nasals of French are written in many different ways in French script (p. 30), thus :—

(1) nasalised *a* as in *father* : am, an, æn, em, en, aon.
(2) nasalised *a* as in *hat* : aim, ain, en, eim, ein, im, in, yn.
(3) nasalised *o* as in *ought* : om, on.
(4) nasalised neutral vowel as in *hut* : um, un, ein.

To return to Mr. Brown's remarks on the palatals. At the end of the remarks quoted above he practically charges his predecessors with being unscientific. But is he now himself scientific ? By considering that č and ǰ (the old *ch* and *j*) should " really be written *t′* and *d′* he is confusing two distinct sets of consonantal sounds that used to be called palatals and palato-dentals ; *viz.*, *ch* and *j*, and *t* and *d*. This judgment is confirmed by his explanation.

The palatals and the palato-dentals both soft and hard have for ages been recognised by native writers of the Indian languages, and the Devanagari script for Sanskrit and the Prakrits and practically all their numerous offspring have series of letters to represent what have long been transliterated by English writers by *ch* (latterly and not unwisely by *c*), *j*, *ñ* ; *t*, *d*, *n* ; *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*. The Devanagari *t*, *d*, *n* are obviously Mr. Brown's *t′*, *d′*, *n′*, though he has clearly uses *n′* for the Devanagari *ñ*. No native of India would have made such a mistake, nor would an Indian ever mix up *ch*, *j* with any kind of *t* and *d*. I cannot, therefore, admit " the scientific accuracy " of using *n′* for *ñ* to represent a*gn*eau or *n*ude.

Considering again č and ǰ borrowed from Pater Schmidt's Anthropos Alphabet, is there any real necessity for such a borrowing by an Englishman writing a book in English about the people of a British possession ? I do not see Mr. Brown's point, though I can understand a European continental scholar, like Pater Schmidt, cutting, by new letters such as č and ǰ, the Gordian knot offered by the continental attempts to represent the sounds written, *ch* and *j* in English, when the unfortunate investigator is faced with a jumble as the following in Continental scripts :—

The R. G. S. System II shows that in many of the Romance Languages (French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian) the pronunciation of written palatals, fricatives and the like is approximately thus in English transcription.

*Romance Languages.*

| *Letter* | *Pronunciation.* | *Letter* | *Pronunciation.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| c | ch, k, s, th | s | s, z, sh, th, zh[2] |
| ç | s | ş | sh |
| cc | ch, kk | sc | sh, sk, s |
| ch | k, sh | sch | sh, sk |
| g | j, g | tch | ch |
| j | h, hy, i, kh,[1] zh[2] | x | sh, x, z, s |
| | | z | dz, th, ts, z, zh |

There is some confussion here between consonants, just as there is in English itself. In the Teutonic Languages, of which English is one, the confusion is somewhat greater. The main Teutonic Languages are German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Icelandic, and then we get pronunciations as follows :—

*Teutonic Languages.*

| *Letter* | *Pronunciation.* | *Letter* | *Pronunciation.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| c | s, k, ts | sch | s, sh, skh |
| ch | k, kh, gh | sj | sh |
| chs | x | sk | sh, sk |
| dj | j | tj | sh |
| j | y | tsch | ch |

1 Gaelic, Irish, German *ch*.

2 French *j*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| k | ch, k | z | s, ts, z |
| kj | chy | | |
| s | s, z | | |

We now begin to see something of the trouble over *ch*, *j* and *sh* that develops so strongly in the Slavonic Languages further East. The main Slavonic and Baltic Languages are Russian, Ruthenian (Ukrainian), Serb, Bohemian (Česky), Polish, Lithuanian, Lettish. In these the confusion of method of writing simple English *ch* and *j* is almost astonishing, as will be seen from the table below, for we get letters and pronunciations as follows :—

*Slavonic Languages.*

| *Letter* | *Pronunciation* | *Letter* | *Pronunciation.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| c, | ts | r | rzh[4] |
| ç | ch | ŕ | rzk[4] |
| ć | ch, ty, t'[3] | s | s |
| č | ch | ś | sh |
| **ch** | ch, kh | ş | sh |
| **cz** | ch | sh | sh |
| ďj | dy, d'[3] | sch | ch |
| **dz** | j, dz | shch | shch, sht |
| **dż** | j | ts | ts |
| **dž** | j | z | z |
| **dź** | dsh | ż | zh[4] |
| **ğ** | j | ẓ | zh[4] |
| **gj** | dy, d | ž | zh,[4] zy, z'[3] |

Here we see the confusion of consonant representation which led to the adoption of č, ǰ, etc. and whence that peculiar form came. The fact is a good deal of the Latin script adopted for the Slavonic, Baltic and Eastern European Languages is quite recent and still unsettled, and those who devised it have not well distinguished between the various kinds of palatals. They failed to be scientific, and I cannot see why it should be 'scientific' to follow them.

To continue Mr. Brown's lucubrations: "The remaining consonants may be pronounced as in English. I have not distinguished between different varieties of the consonants *l*, *r*, *t*, *d*, *k*, and *g*. Further I have not distinguished between *p* and *p̆* (the labial fricative). Many of the words of the Northern languages that I have written with a *p* are pronounced with a *p̆* sound." Here I would remark that so far as my knowledge goes, and also Mr. Man's, *p̆* is not known in the South Andaman.

Passing on to the vowels I must quote Mr. Brown in full : " The vowels are

i u
e o ö
ẹ ọ
a̤ a̱
a

" These may be pronounced as follows :—

i, intermediate between, the vowels of 'it' and 'eat.'
e, as the vowel in 'say'
ẹ, as the *ẹ* in 'error' or the *a̱* in 'Mary.'
a̱, as the *a* in man.
a, as the *a̱* in French 'pas.'
a̤, as the *a* in 'path.'

[3] *t'*, *d'*, *z'* represent very soft sounds, whence clearly Pater Schmidt's *t'*, *d'*, *n'* copied by Mr. Brown.
[4] The French *j*.

o̱, as the vowel in 'not' or in 'nought.'

o, as in 'go.'

u, as in 'fool.'

ö, nearly as the German ö.

"I have not attempted to distinguish all the different varieties of the vowel sounds that are found in the different dialects. Slightly different but closely related sounds are represented by the same letter."

On these statements I have to remark that apparently Mr. Brown has rearranged the system of representing the Andamanese vowels by introducing new ones into the Latin script e̱, a̤, a̱, and o̱, of which a̱, e̱, and o̱ would certainly be taken when in script for italicised vowels by printers, and are therefore innovations of doubtful value on that account. Next, he does not distinguish between long and short vowels, apparently of set purpose. *E.g.*, he writes "*e* as the *e* in 'error' or the *a* in 'Mary'": "*o* as the vowels in 'not' or in 'ought.' Thus in South Andamanese he would not distinguish the *a* in *alaba*, a kind of tree and that in *dake*, don't: or between the two *e*'s in *emej*, a kind of tree: or between the *i* in *igbadigre*, did-see, and that in *pid*, hair: or between the four kinds of *o* in *boigoli*, European; *job*, a basket; *polike*, does-dwell; and the two *o*'s in *togo*, a shoulder, wrist: or between the two *u*'s in *bukura* a kind of tree. He ignores altogether the diphthongs in *daike*, does-understand, *chopaua*, narrow and *chau*, body (the *au* in the first is short and in the latter long in South Andamanese), and in *boigoli*, European. Can one accept Mr. Brown as a trustworthy guide to language in view of these remarks?

The last quotation from him to be given here is: "Although I had acquired some knowledge of phonetics before I went to the Andamans, as a necessary part of the preliminary training of an ethnologist, yet it was not really sufficient to enable me to deal in a thoroughly scientific manner with the problems of Andamanese phonetics, and my further studies of the subject give me reason to believe that my phonetic analysis of the Andaman languages was not as thorough as it might have been." As a matter of fact he has merely succeeded in puzzling students, not in helping them.[5]

I now propose to give some account of the history of the script adopted for writing Andamanese by "former writers" for whose sake Mr. Brown has been willing "to make some sacrifices, of scientific exactness." The first person to attempt to 'write' Andamanese seriously was Mr. E. H. Man, and in this attempt I joined him in 1876, bringing to the task an extensive knowledge of what was then known as the Hunterian System of romanization,[6] and an acquaintance with Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam among Dravidian languages, with Burmese and Talaing among Indo-Chinese languages, with Hindi, Hindustani and Persian of the Indo-Aryan languages, and some Sanskrit. I mention this fact to show that I was then no novice at hearing and recording an Oriental language or even a "new" unwritten

[5] Mr. Man writing to me about Mr. Brown's transliteration says: "(Appendix B: pp. 495-6) Mr. Brown's choice of a system for representing the sounds in the Andamanese languages could scarcely be more unfortunate, and even if it were not faulty and defective, it is quite unsuitable for English and American students, whatever it may be for others. He gives *e* as the sound of *a* in *say*, and *e* as the *e* in 'error' *or* as the *a* in 'Mary.' Yet he considers it necessary to have a to represent the sound of *a* in 'French *pas*" and *a* to represent the *a* in *path*: but o̱ has to serve for the vowel in *not* as well as for the sound in *nought*. No provision is made for many sounds common in Andamanese. And then why represent such a word as *chálanga* yb ĕalaŋa. Shades of Ellis!"

[6] Sir William Hunter in reality merely modified Sir William Jone's system of 1794.

tongue, and I had paid special attention to script and pronunciation.[7] I prevailed on Mr. Man to adopt the Hunterian system for his records, and he accordingly rewrote the very extensive notes he had already recorded. That was the first stage. Later on we both went to England and consulted Mr. A. J. Ellis,—sat at his feet in fact—, and on his very experienced advice and under his direct guidance an alphabet for recording Andamanese (and also Nicobarese) was drawn up, which has since become well known. This is the Alphabet Mr. Brown sets aside as unsuitable.

In 1882 Mr. Ellis, on retiring from his second occupancy of the presidential chair of the Philological Society drew up a Report on the Languages of the South Andaman Island.[8] In the course thereof he explained the circumstances in which he came to produce it. For the present purpose I extract the following remarks (p. 48) :—" I . . . . merely endeavoured to complete the alphabet on the lines which Mr. Man had used. These had been laid down, as we have seen by Mr. Temple, and were to some extent Anglo-Indian, especially in the use of *a*, not only for *a* in Americ*a*, but for *a*, *u*, ɔ in the colloquial pronunciation of *a*ss*u*mpti*o*n. A minimum change was thus produced . . . . The following is the alphabet finally settled by Mr. Man and myself, with examples in Andamanese and Nicobarese. This scheme is found to work well, and will be employed in all Andaman words in this Report. It will be observed that the South Andaman language is rich in vowel sounds, but is totally deficient in hisses *f*, *th*, *s*, *sh* and the corresponding buzzes *v*, *dh*, *z*. *zh*. Of course this alphabet has been constructed solely upon Mr. Man's pronunciation of the languages, and hence the orthography might require modification on a study of the sounds as produced by the natives themselves. This refers especially to the distinctions ä à, â à, au àu, o ò, ô and the two senses of i, e, according as they occur in closed or open syllables. But as the natives understand Mr. Man readily, his pronunciation cannot be far wrong."

To these remarks Mr. Ellis appended the following foot note (p. 48) :—" In the following comparative list Mr. Temple's symbols stand first (and with one exception are roman), those here adopted stand second (and all in italics) :—

| [*Temple*] | [*Ellis*] | [*Temple*] | [*Ellis*] | [*Temple*] | [*Ellis*] | [*Temple*] | [*Ellis*] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | *a*, *ā*, *a* | ô | *ö*, *o* | b | *b* | n | *n* |
| à | *à*, *a* | ò | *ò* | ch | *ch* | ng | *ng*, *ñ*, *ñg* |
| â | *á*, *à* | aw | *ô* | d | *d* | p | *p* |
| e | *e* | u | *u* | g | *g* | r | *r*, *ṛ* |
| ê | *ē*, *e* | û | *u*, *ū* | h | *h* | t | *t* |
| è | *ë* | ai | *ai* | j | *j* | t | *t'* |
| i | *i* | au | *au* | k | *k* | w | *w* |
| î | *ī*, *i* | âu | *àu* | l | *l* | y | *y* |
| o | *o*, *ō* | oi | *òi* | m | *m* | | |

7 Among the linguistic facts, with which I was well acquainted, was the difficulty some Dravidians have in distinguishing between sibilants and palatals and their habit of mixing them up. They are also troubled, like the Germans, in distinguishing between surds and sonants—between *t* and *d*, *ch* and *j*, *s* and *z* *p* and *b*. Many Indian Aryans also mix up *ch* and *s*, *j* and *z*. So that when I heard the same difficulty in Andamanese speech I was able to deal with it. When some of the Andamanese had begun to learn a little English I tried them with such words as *slush*, *slash*, and noted carefully their attempts to say them. In trying to do so they put the flat of the tongue too close to the roof of the month, hesitated, and generally gave it up. They had no difficulty with the vowels in these words.

8 *Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island*, arranged by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A.. twice President of the Philological Society, from the papers of E. H. Man, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Lieut. R. C. Temple of the Bengal Staff Corps, Cantonment Magistrate at Ambala, Punjab. [Reprinted (1914) from the Eleventh Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, delivered by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A., on his retiring from the chair, 19 May 1882, and contained in the transactions of that Society for 1882-3-4, pp. 44-73. The original pagination is retained.]

"In Mr. Temple's writing, short *à*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* in open syllables were not distinguished from the long sounds, and the portion of stress was rarely marked. I adopted his short *a e i o u* and made the long of them *ā ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*. Then adopting his *â*, *o* I made them short and long sounds respectively *à*, *ô*, and thus got rid of the exclusively English *aw*." Thus arose the alphabet that until Mr. Brown wrote was the standard for writing Andamanese.

With these remarks I now give Mr. Ellis's—

**Alphabet for writing the South Andaman Language.**

| SIGN. | ENGLISH. | SOUTH ANDAMAN. |
|---|---|---|
| | *(1) Oral Vowels and Diphthongs.* | |
| a | idea, cut | *al·aba*, kind of tree. |
| ā | cur (with untrilled) r | *bā*, small : *yā·ba*, not. |
| à | Ital. casa | *elâ·kâ*, region. |
| â | father | *dâ·ke*, don't (imperative). |
| ä' | fathom | *·jär·awa*, name of a tribe. |
| e[2] | bed | *ē·mej*, name of a tree. |
| | chaotic | *pū·dre*, burn-did. |
| ĕ[3] | pair | *ĕ·la*, pig-arrow. |
| i | lid | *ig-bâ·dig-re*, see-did. |
| ī | police | *yâ·dī*, turtle ; *pīd*, hair. |
| o | indolent | *·bōi·goli*, European. |
| ō[4] | pole | *jōb*, basket. |
| ò | pot | *pòl·i-ke*, dwell-does. |
| ô | awful | *lô·go*, wrist ; shoulder. |
| u | influence | *bū·kura*, name of a tree. |
| û | pool | *pū·d-re*, burn-did. |
| ai | bite | *dai·-ke*, understand-does. |
| au | house | *chōpau·a*, narrow. |
| àu | rouse[5] | *chàu*, body. |
| òi | boil | *·bòi·goli*, European. |
| b | bed | *būd*, hut. |
| ch | church | *châk*, ability ; *mich·alen*, why ; *·rūch*, Ross Island. |
| d | dip | *dāga*, large |
| g | gap | *gōb*, bamboo utensil |
| h | hag | *hē*, ho ! *aweh*[6], etcetera. |
| j | judge | *jā·bag*, bad ; *ē·mej*, name of a tree. |
| k | king | *kâ·gal-ke*, ascend-does. |
| l | lap | *lōg*, navigable channel. |
| m | man | *mūgu*, face. |
| n | nun | *nàu·-ke*, walk-does ; *rō·pan*, toad. |
| ñ | Fr. gagner | *ñâ*, more. |
| ng' | bring | *ngī·ji*, kinsmen ; *ērkē·dang·ke*, in trees, search does. |
| ñg[8] | finger | *ngâ*, then. |
| p | pap | *pîd*, hair. |
| r[9] | rest | *rab*, necklace of netting ; *râ·tà*, wooden arrow. |
| r[10] | torrent | *râ·ta*, sea-water. |
| s[11] | not found | not found |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| t | .. *ten* .. .. | .. *ti*, blood. |
| t'[12] | .. not found .. .. | .. *t'ī*, tear from the eye. |
| w | .. *wet* .. .. | .. *wō·lo*, adze, *bal·awa*, name of a tribe. |
| y | .. *yolk* .. .. | .. *yabâ·*, a little. |

*Rules.*

"The syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (·) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

"As it is not usual to find capitals cast for the accented letters, the capital at the beginning of a word is for uniformity in all cases indicated by prefixing a direct period, as *.bal·awa*.

*Notes.*

(1) *ä* accented before a consonant. It is the English *a* in m*a*t, as distinguished from *à*, which is the short of *â* or Italian *a* in *a*nno.

(2) *e* accented in closed syllables, as *e* in bed. In open syllables unaccented as in cha*o*tic or Italian padr*e*, amor*e*.

(3) No vanishing sound of *i* as in English s*ay*.

(4) No vanishing sound of *u* as in English kn*ow*.

(5) Mr. Ellis has "German, h*au*s."

(6) the *h* here is sounded : *h* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(7) When *ng* is followed by a vowel it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel either as in 'finger' or in 'singer': thus, *bē·ri-nga-da*, good, not *bē·ring-a-da*, *be.ring-ga-da* or *bē-rin-ga-da*. It is not only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

(8) *ñg* is a palatalised *ng* and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously ; to pronounce *ñg* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

(9) this *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but not merely vocal.

(10) this *ṛ* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch or Italian *r* or Spanish *rr*.

(11) the Andamanese cannot hiss and hence they substitute *ch* for *s* : thus, Rūch for Rūs, the Hindī corruption of Ross [Island].

(12) this *t'* is a post-aspirater *t*, like the Indian *th* and quite different from the English *th*. Hence the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'* is common in Irish English, and may often be heard in England.

It will be perceived that Mr. Ellis's Alphabet was devised with a complete knowledge of what he was doing, and that it has one great advantage. It marks accent in the simplest way practicable. The importance of doing this is not always appreciated. Many years ago I recollect talking to an educated Madrasi gentleman who knew English quite well, but was at times hazy as to the fall of English accents. We were discussing agricultural matters, when he suddenly puzzled my ear by talking of what I thought were 'blocks.' Soon, however, I perceived that he meant 'bullocks', on which word he had misplaced the accent, saying *bullocks·* in place of *bull·ocks*. In many languages accent changes the meaning altogether of homomyms : *e.g.*, in English *des·ert* and *desert·*.

It is Mr. Ellis's Alphabet that has been the basis on which Mr. Man, Mr. Portman myself and others have worked. I say 'basis' because, simple as it is, it has been beyond

the power of Indian presses and modifications have had to be made. Still it has been the form in which Andamanese has been reduced to writing for half a century, so that it has become as it were, the Andamanese script. To my mind it requires a much stronger linguist than Mr. Brown to upset it.

The remainder of Mr. Brown's remarks are on the use of hyphens. He says : "in writing Andamanese words I have followed the practice of separating by hyphens the affixes from the stems in each word." Here I agree with him as far as linguistic works are concerned ; for all other purposes Mr. Ellis has pointed out that *be·ringada*, good, *abjad·ijō·gada*, spinster, and so on, are in speech one word and not split up into affix and stem.

Before parting with this phase of my remarks on the Andamanese, I will quote again from Mr. Ellis (pp. 51–52) : "the following, written by Mr. Temple in July, 1881, on finally returning the MSS. to Mr. Man, sums up his opinion of the nature of the South and other Andaman languages : 'The Andaman languages are one group. They are like, that is, connected with no other group. They have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group. The word-construction (the etymology of the old grammarians) is two-fold ; that is, they have affixes and prefixes to the root, of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes, they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues. In adding their prefixes, they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of words (or syntax, to follow the old nomenclature) is that of agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this. The only way in which they affect the syntax is to render possible the frequent use of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it in another way, of long compounds, which are sentences in themselves. But the construction of these words is not synthetic, but agglutinative. They are, as *words* either compound nouns or verbs, taking their place in the sentence and having the same relation to the other words in it, as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are, of course, many peculiarities of grammar in the Andaman group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only such as are incidental to the grammar of other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andaman languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

On my use of the term 'affix' in the above quotation Mr. Ellis remarked in a footnote, p. 51 : "Mr. Temple, following the usual unetymological definition given in dictionaries, here uses *affix* in place of *suffix*. In what follows I shall adopt the practice of Prof. S. S. Haldeman in his *Affixes in their Origin and Application*, Philadelphia, 1865, p. 27 : '*Affixes* are additions to roots, stems and words, serving to modify their meaning and use. They are of two kinds, *prefixes*, those at the beginning, and *suffixes*, those at the end of the word bases to which they are affixed. Several affixes occur in long words like *in-com-pre*-hen-*s-ib-il-it-y*, which has three prefixes and five suffixes.' Affixes also include *infixes* (or, as Prof. Haldeman calls them, *interfixes*), where the modifying letter or syllable is introduced into the middle of the base, as in the Semitic and other languages."

To this I may add that in all subsequent writings I adopted *affix* as a generic term, with *prefix, infix* and *suffix* as specific terms to describe particular forms of affixes.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE JAT OF BALUCHISTAN.[1]

BY DENYS BRAY, C.S.I.

*(Chiefly from material collected by R. B., Diwân Jamîat Râi, M. Azîz-uddîn, Tahsildar of Nasîrâbâd, and L. Môtî Râm, Tahsildar of Sibî.)*

1. *Numbers.*—3,753 Jats were enumerated at the census of 1901, being found chiefly in Kalât (3,245) and Sibî (491), with a few odd families in Quetta and Zhôb. The following notes apply more especially to the Sibî Jats, from whom most of the material was obtained.

2. *Origin.*—At that census the Jats were classified as a clan of the Jaṭ race, probably on the ground that their language is Jaṭkî ; but though this net is possibly wide enough to hold them, the two names Jat and Jaṭ must be very carefully distinguished. They usually pose as Balôch, much to the disgust of the Balôch himself. They hark back in approved fashion to Châkar Khân, the great Rind, and attribute their drop in the social scale either to their refusal to support him in his struggle with the Lâshârîs, or to their ancestral profession as camel-drivers, from which they are supposed to derive their name. According to Balôch tradition, so far from having dropped in the social scale, they have gone up a step or two, degraded though their condition is. For in the old days they were little better than savages, living unwashed, unshaven, unclothed, partly on their camels and partly on their women—their two sources of livelihood to this day. As for their absurd claims to kinship, the Balôch say that Mîr Châkar Khân himself had to warn them of the inevitable consequences of such impertinence, and Heaven proved him in the right by wiping out ten thousand of them in next day's battle. But though it seems clear that their claims to blood relationship are really preposterous, it is equally clear that their connexion with the Balôch is of long standing. In the old ballads they are styled Rauchî or Râvchî.

3. *Lack of organisation.*—They can hardly be said to have any organisation at all. The bonds between their various sections, of which thirteen were recorded at the census of 1901, are of the frailest, and in the individual section it is a case of *kiṛî kiṛî sardârên,* or one tent—one chieftain, as the proverb says. Latterly they have begun to awake to the idea that union is not without strength, and are beginning to follow, though very gingerly, the lead of their *môtabars,* notably of Shêr Khân among the Barhânîs and Gulzâr in the Bugṭî country. But if each man is a chieftain in his own tent, they are a cringing lot to the outside world, submitting with whispering humbleness to any indignity put upon them. Even among themselves a flood of abuse or a cuff with the hand or a blow with a shoe is the utmost limit of their valour.

4. *Nomadic life.*—Winter and summer they are on the move in search of grazing for their camels, carrying with them a mat-tent, a hand-mill, some pots and pans and a few sticks of furniture. Being notorious evil-livers and expert camel-lifters, they are not allowed to camp close to a village unless they have taken service with some big man.

5. *Occupation of the men.*—They are camel-breeders, camel-graziers and carriers. The camel indeed is their main staff of life. It supplies them with milk and with hair for making sacking and blankets, while the hair of the tail is twisted into ropes. When the camel trade is slack, they go out as day-labourers in the bazaars, or cut crops for the *zamîndârs,* or hawk about their home-made mats of dwarf-palm leaves. The large stave (*laṭh*) they carry has come to be regarded as the badge of their race.

6. *Occupation of the women.*—The women have to do most of the household work ; they make and wash the clothes, bring in water and fuel, milk the camels, cook the food on a pan (*tawâ*) over three stones, and pitch and strike the tents, while much of their spare time is spent in making dwarf-palm mats, which find a ready sale among the tribesmen.

[1] This article was contributed to the Journal in 1910, but was unfortunately mislaid until a recent date—ED.

7. *Recognised prostitution.*—Not that a woman's life is one long round of toil and moil. On the march she takes her ease on a camel, while her lord trudges along on foot. The wife of one of the well-to-do is loaded with jewels from top to toe: rings (*bûla*), pins, pendants (*bulâq*), all of gold in her nose, golden rings and pendants in her ears, shells in her hair, a silver necklace round her neck, silver banglets on her arms and legs. This expensive enhancement of her charms, which is made complete among several sections by a tattoo mark between the eyebrows, is not intended for the selfish gratification of her husband: it is an outlay of capital which is expected to bring in a goodly return. It is a common saying that a tribesman who puts a camel out to graze with a Jat, becomes thereby the *bhôtâr* or master of the Jat's wife. He comes along every now and then to have a look at his camel and more than a look at the lady of the house. As he comes in, the Jat goes out. On entering the *bhôtâr* leaves his shoes or stick outside the tent. If the Jat on his return finds the shoes or stick still outside, he shuffles with his feet or gives a discreet cough. If this hint is insufficient, he shouts out:—"Master! the horse has got loose!" or "Master! a dog has run off with your shoes!"—a hint too broad to be mistaken. Should a visitor come along when the Jat is absent, his presence in the tent will be advertised by his shoes outside or by some obliging old go-between who greets the husband with the stock euphemism "There's a stallion after the mare!" Though this is regarded as an ancient and honourable custom, and the husband, we are assured, takes pride in the conquests of his wife, it has of course a mercenary side to it. The *bhôtâr* makes presents in one form or another; if he is a big man in the tribe, he can of course help the family in a number of ways.

8. *Religion.*—They profess to be Sunnî Muhammadans, but their religious convictions are not very deep-rooted. They don't keep the Muharram or fast in the Ramzân. But the two Îds are celebrated with much merriment, feasting and singing; these are the only seasons of jollification in the year. They worship no saints and would be hard put to it to explain what the term means. They call in a *Mullah* for their domestic ceremonies, but if they cannot secure his services, they get on very well without him. Though they don't believe in Sayyads, they are not above being inoculated against small-pox by Sayyad Shâhî of Ḍhâḍar. If there is an actual case of small-pox in the house, some damsels and lads are fed to the full on the eighth day, and the former pour water on the patient. The womenfolk are supposed to keep up their singing till the patient recovers.

9. *Child-birth.*—In the case of painful labour they dip the beard of some pious old man in water, and help on the delivery by rubbing the water on the woman's belly and making her drink some of it down.

10. *Circumcision of females.*—Like all Muhammadans, they circumcise their male children, usually between the age of three and seven. But having thus done all that religion demands of them, they carry the practice further and circumcise their females. Of the circumcision of females two accounts are given. According to the one, a girl is circumcised when she is twelve or thereabouts by an old nurse or midwife, a few female relatives being called in for the ceremony, which passes off very quietly. According to the other, a bride is circumcised within the bridal chamber on the bridal night by a midwife who performs the operation (on the clitoris apparently) with a razor, and puts ashes on the wound. The explanation given is that they are reduced to thus sprinkling the bridal couch with blood, in order to prove that the bride is—what in this tribe she generally is not—a virgin.

11. *Marriage age, etc.*—They are perforce endogamous, as nobody, except possibly a Lôṛî, would dream of giving his daughter to one of them in marriage. Though boys are sometimes married when quite young, girls are not married till they reach puberty. As they themselves put it, it would be a waste of money to marry a wife who is too young for

cohabitation and, what is more important, for the hard work of the household. It appears to be not unusual for an adult woman married to a minor to cohabit with his father, though secrecy has to be observed ; but general illicit intercourse is so common that it is hard to say whether this incest deserves the name of custom or not.

12. *Betrothal.*—Marriages are often fixed up by an interchange of girls. An ordinary betrothal is arranged by the lad's father sending a couple of *môtabars* or men of standing to ask for the girl's hand and negotiate about the bride-price. If the overtures are successful, the lad is taken to the girl's house in a large procession, composed of four *môtabars* and a throng of kinswomen and other females, who carry a red silk wrapper (*sûhâ*), a red shirt (*kurtâ*) and a silver finger-ring for the bride, as well as some sugar and henna. They come tripping along, singing and dancing while a drummer (*langa*) beats the drum lustily. On arrival at the house they dress the bride, distribute the sugar and apply the henna to the hands of both bride and groom. The bride-price is handed over, and the betrothal is then complete and as binding as a betrothal can be among folk of such loose morals.

13. *Bride-price.*—The bride-price is sometimes given in cash, rising from an insignificant sum to one or two hundred rupees, but more usually it takes the form of one to three she-camels. If the girl dies before marriage, the bride-price is refunded ; if the lad dies, his heirs can claim the girl, and pocket her bride-price on her marriage.

14. *Marriage.*—For seven days before the wedding the bride and groom are fed—no doubt for their better fertilisation—on flour which has been ground in both houses by a woman who is the sole wife of a loving husband. On the wedding day—preferably during the Îd, but not a Tuesday, Wednesday or Saturday—the groom sets out with a procession of kinsfolk, the women singing and dancing to the beat of a drum. On their arrival at the bride's house a mixture of bread and sugar, called *chûrî*, is distributed among the company, who are feasted at the expense of the groom's father. A *Mullah* reads the *nikâh* according to the ordinary Muhammadan rites for a fee of one rupee, and the bridal couple retire to a *kiṛî* or mat-tent, which has been pitched for them some little distance from the encampment. Here they remain for seven days, only visited by a relative who brings them their food. On the first morning the bride's garment, stained with the supposed tokens of virginity, is exposed to view. If a *Mullah's* services cannot be procured, they are simply dispensed with ; one of the grey-beards performing the ceremony by chanting any Balôchî or Jaṭkî song he happens to remember.

15. *Marriage of widows.*—A widow returns to her parents and has perfect liberty to arrange her future life just as she pleases—whether as widow, mistress or wife. If she prefers to marry and can find the man to marry her, betrothal and marriage take place at one and the same time. The bride-price, which is only half the usual amount, goes to her parents.

16. *Buffoonery at the ceremony.*—The *Mullah* only gets eight annas or half the usual marriage-fee, which seems unfair considering all the indignities he has to put up with. For at the marriage of a widow the women regard the *Mullah* as a proper butt for the broadest of jokes ; they sew up his clothes with matting, and sometimes even take off his trousers and leave him naked, befooling and abusing him mercilessly.

17. *Absence of divorce.*—Divorce is unknown. It would indeed be a little out of place, seeing that the husband takes at least as keen and kindly an interest as his wife in her amours. It is hardly necessary to go as far as one of the correspondents on the subject, who finds the explanation for the absence of divorce in the charitable conclusion that the happiness of his wife is the first and last ambition of a Jat. Now and then no doubt a husband may think that matters are being carried a bit too far, especially if the paramour is a mere Jat like himself ; but a small douceur will soon smooth down his ruffled feelings.

18. *Burial.*—They bury their dead in the usual way with the head to the north, the feet to the south and the face towards the west. If they can get hold of a *Mullah* to read the service, so much the better; his fee is only eight annas or a rupee. The bereaved family are fed by the kin for three days, during which their ordinary occupations are suspended in token of mourning. On the fourth day a little dried *juwâr* (*andropogon sorghum*) is parched and distributed with sugar. Visits of condolence are paid by the friends, who are feasted but contribute eight annas or so to the alms for the dead.

19. *Inheritance.*—Only male agnates inherit. First the son—(sons in equal shares, sons and deceased sons' sons *per stirpes*); then the father; then the brother, and in default of brother, the nephew; and then the uncle, and in default of uncle, the cousin—this forms the general order of precedence.

20. *Maintenance of women.*—Widows, daughters and the male issue of daughters are excluded from the inheritance. Not that the widow is part of the inheritance as elsewhere, for her bride-price, should she choose to remarry, goes to her parents (§ 15). Like the daughter, who is, however, part of the inheritance, she is entitled to maintenance from the deceased's estate until she remarries. Inchastity, needless to say, does not cancel her rights in this respect.

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## A NOTE ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF SALBARDI VILLAGE.[1]

BY R. B., HIRA LAL, B.A.

SALBARDI is a small village with a population of about 300 souls, situated partly in the Betûl district and partly in the Amraoti district. It is 44 miles south of Badnûr and about the same distance (40 miles) north-east of Amraoti. The portion included in the Betûl district contains a natural cavern, inside which is placed a *lingam*, which is worshipped on the Śivarâtri day by thousands of pilgrims, mostly belonging to Berâr. The cave is a deep hollow, reached by a circuitous underground passage through a series of precipitous metamorphic rocks. The roof consists of the same material, from which, somehow or other, water oozes out and in small drops slowly falls on the *lingam* placed beneath it. This is taken by ordinary people to be a miracle, which invests the place with the sanctity it enjoys. In spite of the fact that the passage is a difficult one to cross, obliging the pilgrim to crawl at some points, where the space between two rocks narrows into a small hole just enough to allow the body to pass through, people flock to it and even pay blackmail to the *mâlguzâr* for the privilege of getting inside and paying devotion to the Mahâdeo inside. An estimate of the crowd on the Śivarâtri day may be made from the collections taken by the *mâlguzâr* at the entrance. It is about Rs. 800, if not more, when the charge is an anna or two per head. The pilgrims, especially late arrivals, continue to visit the cave for four or five days after the Śivarâtri.

Inside the cave all is dark, and one has to go accompanied by a barber with a *masâl* (torch). There are cracks in the rock in some places, whence a little dim light can be seen. The place where Mahâdeo is installed is a fairly high hall, which can accommodate 100 or more persons. Adjoining it there is another hall with any amount of guano manure, which the bats furnish. This is called the *bâri* or field, where Mahâdeo grows *gânjâ* (hemp) and *dhaturâ*, both of which crops are invisible to physical eyes. Here also lies his *âkhâṛâ* where he daily practises his exercise. A long subterranean passage leading towards the north is yet unexplored. Here any number of bats may be seen hiding in the dark. The story about this passage is that once 360 goats were sent down this unknown abyss, and that one of them came out at the Mahâdeo shrine at Pachmaṛhî, about 85 miles away from Sâlbarḍî, indicating that the Sâlbarḍî Mahâdeo is connected with the great Mahâdeo of Pachmaṛhî. There are two passages by which people enter or leave the cave. From one

[1] This note was contributed to the Journal in 1910, but was unfortunately mislaid until a recent date.—ED

entrance they get directly into the sanctum, and from another they first reach Mahâdeo's *âkhârâ*. The latter is a narrower passage than the former.

The cave, however, is a recent discovery, made within the memory of living men, but Sâlbarḍî contains many ancient remains, probably the oldest that either of the two districts in which it is situated can show. They lie within a space surrounded by high mountains, on one of which the cave described above is situated. Just below this mount flows the river Gaṅgâ, on the right side of which there is a Śaiva temple built over a natural *lingam*. It is known as Tâtobâ kî Marḥî and is built in the mediæval Brahmanic style. It is a flat-roofed building, supported on massive pillars and ornamented from outside with figures and carvings. In the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* a small platform has been recently constructed and is named and worshipped as Tâtobâ's *Samâdhi*. It is really the grave of some *sâdhu*, named Tâtobâ, who lived and died there : but the temple has existed there since about the tenth century A.D. Local traditions identify the place as the hermitage of Vâlmîki ; and that opposite it, just on the other bank of the Gaṅgâ, is pointed out as the one where Sîtâ after delivery washed her clothes. There are two small cisterns, fed by a natural spring, which are known as Sîtâ kî Nahânî or Sîtâ's bathing place. Kuśa and Lava are believed by the people to have been reared here and to have fought with their uncles Bharata and Satrughna. The numerous mortar-like holes in the rocks are said to be the marks of hoofs of horses, on which the soldiers from Ajodhyâ rode. Side by side there is a shrine of Ḍholam Shâh, a Valî (Musalmân prophet), whose miracles are forgotten. Apparently he was installed by Bâbû Khân, dacoit, who made a small fort just above this place, which protected him from the attacks of his enemies. Inside the fort or rather rampart, now much dilapidated, there still stands a hall known as Bâbû Khân kî kachahrî. It is built from stones, evidently belonging to mediæval temples, which Bâbu Khân seems to have dismantled, using them for his Kachahrî. The building is supported on massive pillars, and a side room has a gate, which certainly belonged to a temple, the figure of Gaṇeśa being carved above it. There are also other stones with carvings of Hindu gods and goddesses.

A few yards away on high ground, the eye catches a white shrine, very modest in its structure, with no pretentions to antiquity or architecture. It is known as Muni kî Marhî, and is a Mânbhao shrine of a saint, who evidently died there. It is on descending just below this shrine that the traveller finds a contrast. For he suddenly comes upon a Buddhist Vihâra, cut out of one piece of rock, with a sanctum in which there is an image of Buddha, with two persons on either side carrying a whisk. Under the pedestal there is a representation of a *Jâtaka*. Unfortunately somebody has broken off the head of Buddha. In front of the sanctum there is a hall about 18×14 feet with two side rooms, and outside there is a verandah 26×14 feet, which also has two side rooms, one at each end. This is the oldest place, and it invests Sâlbarḍî with an importance hitherto unknown. A few yards away another monastery on a somewhat grander scale was cut out of solid rock, but for some reason or other it was never completed. It seems to have been abandoned when it was almost complete. The sanctum contains no images and the side rooms of the main hall were not fully carved. Apparently the verandah was first excavated, then the hall, after which the two side rooms and the sanctum, and all the three latter show marks of abandonment.

Buddhism seems to have lingered on in this part of the country till about the 7th or 8th century, and it is possible that these Vihâras, like the cave temple of Bhândak, may belong to that period. There is however nothing to show that they were not much earlier. On the contrary there are grounds for believing that they belong to a period prior to the seventh century, when the Râshtrakûṭas[2] of Mâlkhed held this part of the country. They

[2] A copper-plate dated in the year 631 A.D. of these kings was discovered in Tiwarkhed village, 32 miles from Sâlbarḍî. It records the grant of that village to a Brâhman, and this clearly proves that this part of the country was under the sway of the Râshtrakûṭas.

were Śaivas, and apparently they would not have tolerated the Buddhistic monasteries within their dominions, especially just about the time when Sankarâchârya preached a crusade against Buddhism and succeeded in ousting it from India. Indeed the unfinished state of the second Vihâra indicates precipitate action, apparently brought about by the persecution of the Buddhists, who must have been compelled to leave the place hurriedly. The traditions which have grown up in regard to these places show how keen the persecution was. It could not tolerate the reminiscence of even Buddhistic names. Stories were invented, appropriating all the places as residences of Râma and Siva or their retainers. The two monasteries are now known as Ghoḍe kî Pâyagâ and Ghoḍe kî Lîd or stables of Mahâdeo's horses. The entrances, which have become disintegrated, are stated to have been eaten by the horses for want of sufficient fodder. The unfinished Vihâra is called Ghoḍe kî Lîd, because there lies a large quantity of guano, which gives a smell compared by the people to that of horse-dung. These two monasteries are situated in a most picturesque valley surrounded by high mountains, on the fork formed by the rivers Mându and its tributary, the Gaṅgâ. It is just the place which Buddhists would have selected for their Vihâras. Near the village is a sulphur spring containing hot water. A bath in it is supposed to cure skin diseases, but whether the pilgrims are afflicted with them or not, they bathe in it, considering it to be a necessary part of their meritorious performance. One of the peculiarities of this locality is that a strong wind blows throughout the year every day from 8 p.m. to 8 a.m.

## A NOTE ON THE WORDS 'PERTALE' AND 'KALNÂDU.'[1]

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

I. THE word *peṟtale* like *kalnâḍu* occurs in Kannaḍa inscriptions and is one of those whose meaning is not properly understood. It occurs, for instance, in No. 148 of the collection of inscriptions of the Śrîrangapaṭṭana Taluka of the Mysore District, a record belonging to the fourth year of the reign of the Gaṅga king Satyavâkya Perumânaḍigaḷ and is dated the *peṟtaledivasam* of the month Mârggaśira. Mr. Rice has translated this word as the eighth day (of the fortnight).

The word *peṟtale*, or more correctly *peṟetale*, is a compound of the words *peṟe* and *tale*, two words which are common to the Kannaḍa, Malayâḷam and Tamiḻ languages. The former means the crescent moon, and the latter, the head or the beginning. Hence the compound literally means the head or the beginning of the crescent or the waxing moon. That this derivation is correct, will become patent from the following quotation, wherein the word occurs in a slightly altered form : '*Âṉit-talaip-piṟai pâl tîṇḍiṉa Sûrya-grahaṇatti-ṉâṉṟu*' (on the day of the solar eclipse that touched the beginning or the first of the crescent moon in the month of Âni). This passage occurs in an inscription found in the Jalanâthêśvara temple at Takkôlam and is dated the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Râjakêsarivarman. From the fact that a solar eclipse is mentioned, it becomes quite clear that *talaipiṟai* (or *piṟai-talai*) refers only to the first of the waxing moon ; in other words to the new moon. The English compound 'new-moon' conveys almost the same sense as *piṟai-talai.*

Again, in the sixth Canto, entitled the *Kaḍalâḍu-kâdai*, of that superb Tamiḻ classic epic poem, the *Śilappadigâram*, the phrase *uvavu-talai* occurs. It is a compound of *uvavu* and *talai* : *uvavu* (or *uvâ*) means the conjunction of the sun and the moon and might refer to either the new or the full-moon. But in later Tamiḻ works it is generally employed to denote the new moon The phrase therefore is a paraphrase of the other, *piṟai-talai.*

From the above explanations it is certain that *peṟatale* means the new moon, and not 'the eighth day ', as has been supposed by Mr. Rice in the document already alluded to.

[1] This note was contributed to the Journal in 1910, but was unfortunately mislaid till a recent date.—ED.

II. The term *kalnâḍu* occurs in Kannaḍa inscriptions in connection with the death of any person who falls in a battle, is killed in attacking cattle raiders, in hunting wild beasts etc. If the death took place on the battlefield, we see the king sometimes giving the *kalnâḍu,* in the name of the deceased hero. Generally some relation of the departed person gives it ; in a few cases the villagers are seen honouring such a man with a memorial tablet.

Now the word *kalnâḍu* has been understood by Mr. Rice to mean ' a stony piece of land'. Adverting to this, he writes, " another interesting term is *kalnâḍu,* which is not so easy to explain, as it has long been obsolete and only occurs in the oldest inscriptions. So far as the word goes, it means a stony tract. But from the way in which it is used, as signifying the land granted for the support of the family of a man who had fallen in battle, or been otherwise killed in public service, it seems to designate what is now known as "Government waste", that is, land that has not been taken up for cultivation, or having been cultivated has been abandoned."[2] Dr. Fleet also agrees with Mr. Rice in the interpretation of this word.[3] If this is taken as the signification of the term, hard indeed must be the heart of the king who grants to the family of the man who, in discharge of his duties towards his lord and master, offers even his life, a stony piece of land, or else land that has already been tried for cultivation and abandoned on account of its worthlessness. Such a poor grant to the bereaved members of the family would never be an honest appreciation of the sacrifices of the person killed. If the king were well-meaning, he would certainly disdain to bestow a stony tract of land on the survivors of the deceased. That *kalnâḍu* does not mean a barren uncultivable land will be clear from what follows.

The word *kalnâḍu* is a compound of *kal* and *naḍu,* two words meaning 'a stone ' and 'set up' or 'plant' respectively. Both these words are common to all the Dravidian languages. In Tamil it is *kal,* in Kannaḍa and Malayâḷam it is *kallu,* in Tuḷu also it is *kall,* in the language of the Tôḍas of Nilgiris it is *kars,* whereas the Telugu language alone has *râyi.* Similarly, *naḍu, naṭu, neṭṭu* are the different forms of the Tamiḻ term *naḍu* in the Kannada language, and have the same meaning as in that language, viz., ' to fix firmly,' to ' stick or fix in the ground,' to 'plant.' Dr. Kittel gives the following examples, in which this verb occurs :—' '*paśuva kaṭṭal-endu kaḷadalli naṭṭa guṇṭavu* ', ' *naṭṭa kambhada hâgê,' diṭṭa-vîranu irabeku'* and ' *naṭṭa marakke nîru eṛeda hâgê.'* in all which instances it is used in exactly the same sense in which it is employed in the compound *kalnâḍu.* Malayâḷam has its *naḍuga,* (the same as the Tamiḻ *naḍugai,* 'the act of planting ') which means ' to get into,' ' to enter,' 'to be pierced or stuck into ' : for example, '*naḍuvânum paṟippânum sammadikkâde.*' In Telugu it is *nâṭu.* Tulu also has the same verb to express the idea of planting. Thus we see that the simplest meaning conveyed by the word *kalnâḍu* is the planting of a stone. Verbal nouns in the Dravidian languages are generally formed by lengthening the initial vowel thus: *toḍu,* to dig out, *tôḍu,* that which is dug out, a canal ; *paḍu,* to fall in (such as, the teaching of another, under the abuse of another etc). *pâḍu* as in *vaḻi-pâḍu,* worship, *koḷpâḍu,* a conclusion etc.; *viḍu,* to leave, *vîḍu,* freedom, or (figuratively, as in some previous instances) heaven. Similarly *naḍu,* to plant, *nâḍu,* what has been planted. This verbal noun has been misunderstood for the noun *nâḍu,* ' a country,' and hence all the mistakes in the interpretation of the word *kalnâḍu.*

Tamiḻ literature yields a detailed discription of the custom of setting up memorial stones in honour of heroes fallen in battles. *Tolkâppiyam,* the most ancient grammar and rhetoric of the Tamiḻ language, has a *sûtram* about *kalnâḍu* ;[4] the purport of it is, that as soon as a man died in battle, a stone is sought out, bathed in holy water, set up in due form, and with praises consistent with the status in life of the deceased. In commenting on this passage, Nachchiṉârkkiṉiyâr adds more details and quotes several passages from literary works,

[2] *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. III, Introduction, page 8. [3] *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. VI, page 43, f.n. 1.

[4] *Tolkâppiyam,* Poruḷ-adigâram, Sûtram 60, the last four lines of it only, and the commentary thereon of Nachchiṉârkkiṉiyâr.

which throw considerable light on the subject. One of these informs us that the stone is set after the name of the hero and the circumstances under which his death occurred are engraved on it. Another illustrative verse tells us that a string (*kâppu-nâṉ* or *-nûl*, Sans. *rakshâ-bandhana tantu*) is tied round the stone, perfumes sprinkled, incense burnt and plenty of flowers thrown over it. *Ghî* is smeared on the stone, and it is set up with great pomp in the presence of all the friends and relatives of the deceased. Bards are then invited and paid liberally to sing the praises of the hero. Sometimes a covered stylobate is built round it, called the *vîra-sâlai*. These facts are repeated in all subsequent grammars such as *Viraśôliyam*,[5] *Purapporuḷ-veṇbâ-mâlai*,[6] and *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam*[7] etc. The custom of setting a stone could not have existed in the days of the author of that most modern of all grammars, the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*. The curious custom is often referred to in ancient Tamiḻ works, such as *Kuraḷ*[8], *Pattu-pâttu*[9], *Puṟanânûṟu*,[10] *Kalladam*, etc.[11]

From what we saw above, it appears that something like *pûja* was offered to these stones. If then a simple phrase such as *kal-nâṭu gottam, iru tamuttu irbbara kalgal* etc., occurs without any land grant with it, we must apparently understand that a decent burial, with an inscribed memorial tablet, was given to the dead man. If, on the other hand, a land grant is made to the members of the family of the deceased, perhaps it was meant for the up-keep of the *pûja* to the stone. *Kalnâḍu* then passes to another stage of connotation, and means that which is given for setting up the stone. Anyhow *kalnâḍu* does not mean the stony tract of land, as Mr. Rice understands.

## MISCELLANEA.

### 1. THE KONKAN AND THE KONKANI LANGUAGE.

### 2. MONT D'ELI.

In his review of the Konkan and the Konkani language by Dr. V. P. Chavan, Mr. Edwardes suggests a derivation for the term 'Konkan', deriving the word from 'Kongu' on the analogy of the Kanarese form *Tenkaṇa*. He rightly rejects the Sanskrit derivation of the word suggested by the author as unconvincing, but his alternative suggestion does not take us much nearer a convincing derivation of the word. The word Konkan in its present form is the Kanarese form; but in classical Tamil literature, the term occurs in the Tamil form Koṇ-Kânam. What is more, this, region is treated as the kingdom of a chieftain, whose rule extended over the neighbouring territory even of Tulu. In one poem of the *Puṟanânûṟu*, the territory is spoken of as Koṇ-Perum-Kânam. The last word in both the expressions means in Tamil 'forest.' The meaning of the first is not quite so clear. It comes from the root '*kol*', originally 'to take.' By a transition it comes to be 'taking that which is not one's own.' In that sense that same class of Tamil literature uses the term in the following forms:—'Koḷ,' 'Koḷḷai' and 'Kondi,' all of them alike signifying 'plunder' or 'spoils of war.' Therefore, ordinarily Koṇ-Kânam ought to mean the forest where any thing that can be taken possession of by anybody that wishes to; in other words, it is a 'no-man's land', from which anybody can appropriate any thing that can be appropriated. This has reference mainly to driving off cattle; cattle grazing in the forest could be taken possession of by anybody that cared. The term interpolated between the two merely means 'great' and gives the clearest possible indication that the two terms are intended to mean what they actually do in Tamil literature, namely 'vast.' So Konkan would be the vast region of forest from which those that chose might take possession of what they liked.

Whether this Tamil name was applied to a foreign country, or whether it was actually Tamil land may be a more doubtful question; but all the indications in classical Tamil literature give

5 *Viraśôliyam*, verse, 15 of *Poruḷ-padalam* and the commentary on it.

6 *Purapporul-veṇbâ-mâlai*, Sûtrams, 12-14, of the Poduviyar-padalam, and the illustrative verses following them.

7 *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam*, Sûtram, 619.

8 *Kuṟaḷ*, chapter on *Paḍaichcherukku*, verse 1.

9 *Pattu-pâttu*, *Malaipaḍukaḍâm*, lines, 387-389 and its commentary.

10 *Puṟanânûṟu*, verse, 221 and *Agappâttu*, verse 131.

11 Also my paper on this subject in the *Sentamil*, Vol. III, pp. 55—61.

12 Poems: 154-156. Aham: 15, 97, 249. Naṟṟinai: 391.

one the idea that it was a Tamil kingdom under a Tamil chief, who was also chief of Tuḷu and who had his capitals and fortresses and hills, and the other paraphernalia of a kingdom. The chief that is referred to is Nannan, who has been handed down to ill-fame as the killer of a woman, so that in Tamil literature he is called generally Nannan the woman-killer, to distinguish him from his son who bore the same name and who is called Nannan,[2] the son of Nannan, whose territory lay inland in the eastern portion of Kongu in the generation following.

This brings us to another geographical item animadverted upon by Sir Richard Temple both in the *JRAS.* and in the *Indian Antiquary*. It is the famous Mont Deli. Sir Richard felt very easily persuaded by what Mr. Subramania Ayyar said, on the authority of the Sanskrit *Kavyam*, '*Mushakavaṁśa*,' the mediæval work that the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao published, in regard to the origin of the term. Because of the expressions *Mûshaka-vaṁśa* and *Mûshaka-nâdu*, Mr. Subramania Ayyar jumped to the conclusion that Mont Deli can mean nothing more than 'mountain of the bandicoot or rat.' He went on to characterise the translation *Sapta Śaila* as an unwarranted manufacture on the part of the Sanskrit-knowing Brahman. It is a matter for regret that we should be too ready to divine intentions on the part of authors of mischievous derivations and details, when a little closer inspection may prove useful. The *Kâvya Mûshaka Vaṁśa* and the country Mûshaka cannot be held to supply us with the origin of the name Mont Deli, when we have very much more authentic sources of information regarding the place. Mont Deli of the geographers is undoubtedly the hill surrounded by numbers of rivers and streams, 16 miles to the north of Cannanore, which the writers of the Tamil classics always refer to distinctly as Êḻ-il-kunram.[3] The first term is seven, the second may mean a house, and the third is hill, which in the mouth of a Malayalam-speaking moderner would become Elimalâ by a process of phonetic decay, which can be easily understood by one acquainted with the language. Hence the Brahmanical translation *Sapta Śaila* has very much more warrant than the suggestion that the Eli there was a *Mûshaka*. I believe nobody will adduce the argument that these Tamil classics, whatever their actual age, were later than the *Mushakavaṁśa*. So the translation *Sapta Śailam* is quite a regular translation of the Tamil name.

That does not give the explanation of the Mont Deli, or Hili, as the Arabs have it. The clearest explanation is that it is a translation of the Malayalam expression, as the Sanskrit is a translation of the Tamil. If to the first foreign visitor of the coast or promontory the name had been given as Elimalâ, and if he wanted as a mere matter of curiosity to know what exactly it meant, the obvious member of the compound *mala* is easily explained as hill or mount; and what about *Eli*? If the person who used the term Elimalâ had the notion that it had anything to do with the *Eli* (rat), he could have offered the explanation then and there, and the translator would not have called it Mont Deli; but instead of *Eli*, he would have put the equivalent of the rodent in his own language; but the fact that *Eli* has been retained is a clear indication that the foreigner was not able to understand the term, and could not get a satisfactory explanation of it from his informant. The suggestion that the term *Eli* meant the rat and nothing else, would have struck the native of the locality as very queer. The only possible explanation of the term 'il' that I can suggest is *house*, and that could only mean that the hill and its slopes were the property of seven *illams* or households of the Malabar coast. Hence Mont Deli is an unconscious rendering of the accurate early Tamil name, only somewhat corrupted as it passed through Malayalam, but not quite clearly understood by the first foreigner who coined the term, whether he were Arab, Persian or European.

There is an interesting note on this on page 1, Vol. II, of Longworth Dames' edition of the *Book of Duarte Barbosa*. Mr. Thorne, I.C.S., whose note is included in it, labours to derive the term Deli from Taḷi in Ramandally. This would be unexceptionable, if the form of the word were Deli. The Arab word is Hili, and the European equivalent seems to be merely d'Eli, meaning the *hill of Eli* for Mont D'Eli.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

PA-I-A SADDA MAHANNAVO (Prâkṛta Śabda Mahârṇavaḥ.)

This is the first part of a dictionary of the Prakrit language intended to be completed in four parts. It is a comprehensive dictionary of the Prakrit language giving the meaning of Prakrit words in Hindi. It provides, at the same time, the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prakrit words. The dictionary as a whole contains about 75,000 words. The author, Pandit Haragovind Das Sheth, Lecturer in Prakrit in the Calcutta University, has taken care to support the meanings that he gives by quotations from the original sources, giving complete references. It removes one of the desiderata for a satisfactory study of the vast Prakrit literature, which still remains unexplored, or explored but inadequately

[2] *Pattuppâṭṭu*, 10.

[3] *Naṟṟiṇai*, 391 as above.

by scholars Indian and European. It is likely to be of great assistance in promoting this desirable study. The author deserves to be congratulated upon the result of his labours in this good cause. The work is a monument of his learning and effort, and it is to be hoped that his industry will be suitably rewarded, to encourage him to go on with his work and complete it, as originally projected, in four parts.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

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THE HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A. Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1924. 24 pp.

This is a valuable contribution to a question which seems at last to be on the way to settlement. Mr. Srinivasachari has gone to the proper resources and has made a useful summary of it up to date. It is but a few years since the Pallava-Pahlava theory seemed impregnable and quite feasible. Now we know that the Pallavas were not of outside origin, but a Southern Indian family or clan. But to which clan they belonged or out of which they rose, is still open to controversy. Mr. Srinivasachari sets to work deliberately to sift the evidence.

First, he takes us to the name and its origin, quoting finally Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's statement: "So far as the available evidence goes, they were a dynasty of the Andhras, probably related to or even springing out of the clan of the Sâtavâhanas." Next he dives into their early history, as rulers of Kâñchi and neighbourhood, and carries it from before the date of the Gupta Emperors to the close of the 6th century A.D. Then come the days of the Great Pallavas, when "a definite chronological arrangement becomes possible," and the great struggle between the Pallavas of Kâñchî, and the Chalukyas of Vâtâpî was carried on for a long period.

Here Mr. Srinivasachari takes us through the records of ruler after ruler by name—Simhavishṇu up to, say, 610 A.D., Mahêndra "at first a Jain and later converted to Śaivism;" Narasimhavarman (c.630-668), whom he surnames the Great: Mahêndravarman (c. 668-674); Paramêśvaravarman (c. 674-690); Narasimhavarman II, Râjasimha (c. 690-715), the great builder of the temples at Kâñchî, the "Seven Pagodas" at Mâmallapuram, the Panamalai temple; Nandivarman (715-779); Dantivarman (779-830); Nandi (c. 830-854); Nṛipatunga (c. 854-880); Aparâjita Pôttaraiyar (880—c. 900). The succession, however, is not quite so clear as the above statement would appear to make it, and there is much room for further research as to details. The outline, however, is now before us of this great ruling race, which did so much for Southern India in times now long past and forgotten.

In fact the times and work of the Pallavas are of such importance to South Indian history that we cannot know too much about them. Like Vijayanagar, Kâñchi is a "Forgotten Empire". and students who would illuminate the story of the rise of South Indian religion and administration, would do well to unearth all that is possible of the remarkable episode of the Pallavas in times now long gone by. Mr. Srinivasachari has done quite rightly in adding to his summary of the political history of the Pallavas another of the social institutions of the time.

Kâñchî was the chief seat of Pallava power all through the first millennium of the Christian era—the centre of the art, religion and civilisation they inculcated. "The Pallavas brought to Kâñchî the culture of the North, as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian or Southern culture;" though this is not to say that by race they were of the Northern people.

By religion they were, generally speaking, Śaivas, though Vaishnavism and Jainism flourished under them, or some of them, and they were the great temple and cave builders of the South. Buddhism also flourished at times under their tolerant rule. Then they were the chief promoters of literature, and many a famous name flourished under their encouragement. Theirs was also a glorious epoch of art and architecture, and fortunately it is still represented by many a noble ruin.

In the practical administrative side of life they were no less distinguished. Under them the administration was "complex and hierarchical in character, and the tax-system was heavy and cumbrous." But the great point was that "the real unit of administration was the village community, either an individual village or a collection of villages," ruled by a special committee or *sabha*. The outstanding feature of Pallava rule was the attention paid to irrigation, and their works for the purpose were very large.

The leaving of the village affairs in the hands of the villagers themselves did not relieve the Pallava kings from the general administration of the country, which was entrusted to viceroys and petty local rulers, who tended to become hereditary. This led to the creation of a number of minor chiefs of a feudal character, and as the superior central power diminished and then died, the whole country sank into the position of a collection of merely feudal chieftainships with Pallava names and Pallava titles, working for other centralised powers; *e.g.*, the Cholas and the Kurumbas. It was a case of a system steadily killing itself.

Be all this as it may, there is clearly a case made out for a detailed account of Pallava rule, for another *History of a Forgotten Empire*. The

Pallavas ruled so long and did so much for the making of Southern India that they are worth it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, from 1736 to 1761 : Volume IX, Sept. 1754—Dec. 1755 ; edited by H. DODWELL. Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. 1924.

The present volume of the famous Diary is furnished, like the preceding volumes, with an excellent introduction by the Editor, Mr. Dodwell, who divides the subject-matter into three main categories, viz :—(*a*) the abandonment of the French policy of adventure followed by Dupleix, (*b*) the inauguration of a new policy by his successor, Godeheu, and (*c*) the effects of the new policy under Godeheu's successor, de Leyrit. Godeheu landed at Pondicherry at the beginning of August, 1754, with orders recalling Dupleix and authorising his arrest, if he refused to comply with the summons. Mr. Dodwell explains the reasons for this action of the authorities in France, and is able from the evidence of the Diary to elucidate the circumstances of Dupleix's recall, which have hitherto been doubtful in one or two particulars. He also discusses the failure of the attempt to establish French Rule over South India, and attributes it chiefly to lack of sea-power and to the mutual jealousy of the French agents in the East, which rendered impossible anything in the nature of team-work. He is probably right in his view that the latter circumstance was a more potent cause of failure than even the corruption and duplicity which marred the policy and acts of the French in India. With the arrival of Dupleix's successor, Ananda Ranga Pillai came again into his own, and this portion of the Diary testifies to the gradual recovery of the influence which he had lost through the intrigues and interference of Dupleix's half-caste wife. The reference on page 69 to "a certain island with a fort thereon held by the Hubshis," is somewhat obscure. Mr. Dodwell remarks in his footnote that "Ranga Pillai writes 'Avisikal', but he probably means the Angrias, whom the Marathas attacked in the following year with aid from Bombay." This may be so ; but Angria was not an Abyssinian, whereas the Sidi of Janjira (the Habshi) certainly was ; and although we have no record of any definite attack upon Janjira in 1754, the general sense of the passage in Ranga Pillai's Diary applies more closely to the island fort of Janjira than to the possessions of Angria. Possibly, however, the reference is to the Kolaba fort, lying just off the shore of the mainland : but in that case the use of the word Hubshi in the enclosure to Balaji Rao's letter seems to be erroneous. The ninth volume of the Diary, as edited by Mr. Dodwell, is a worthy companion to the preceding volumes.

S. M. EDWARDES.

REMINISCENCES OF VIJAYA DHARMI SURI. By SHRI VIJAYA INDRA SURI. Shivpuri (Gwalior State). Printed at the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1924.

This is a thoroughly Indian account of the Jainâchârya, known as Vijaya Dharma Suri, who died as lately as September 1922. The hero of the story was a great and important Jain saint and teacher, making friends wherever he went, and his story has been well worth recording. It has indeed been the subject of volume after volume in at least ten languages, including four of the chief tongues of Europe, as he was on friendly terms with all the principal European students of Jainism, amongst whom his great attainments as a scholar aroused enthusiastic esteem. His scholarship was used in bringing to light unknown and even unsuspected works on his religion, and thus he earned the undying gratitude of his European correspondents. In his own country he was a religious power : altogether an admirable man.

He was of the Vaisya caste and obviously unsatisfactory as a youth, until he was about nineteen, when he turned to religion and took up the life of a *sadhu*, which he followed for the next thirty-five years till his death. As an ascetic, he read and preached constantly, founded schools, libraries and hospitals, and disputed with Pandits—all to the advantage of his own faith and to the great benefit of Indian scholarship generally. A liberal-minded organizer, he was able to found a periodical series of Jain works, and this besides the books he himself wrote and the fortnightly paper which he also started. He led in fact a busy life away from the political world, entirely devoted to doing good as he saw it—a typical *âchârya*, and as regards Oriental scholarship it is a great misfortune that he did not live longer.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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A STUDY IN HINDU SOCIAL POLITY. BY CHANDRA CHAKRABERTY, Calcutta, 1923.

Yet another book by this indomitable writer, published in 1923, which he describes as "the outgrowth of the materials I gathered to write a cultural history of the Hindus" and as "hastily-drawn sketches." He gave up the idea of publishing the 'History' on reading Romesh Chandra Dutta's *Civilisation in Ancient India.*

The author has evidently been a wide and enthusiastic reader and has collected a great amount of information interesting and useful to scholars. Whether his conclusions are sound is another matter and so controversial that I do not propose to enter into it in this notice.

R. C. TEMPLE.

JINJI

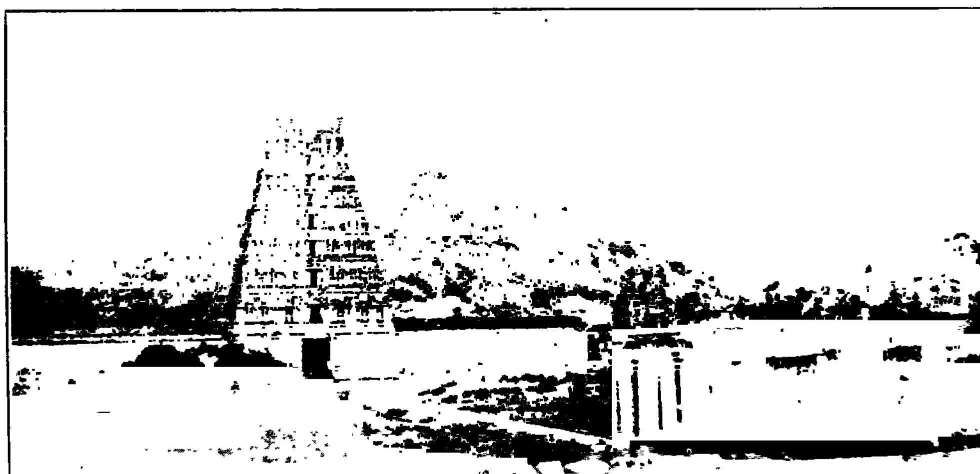


FIG. 1—GENERAL VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE FORT FROM THE FOOT OF CHANDRAYANDRUG. IN THE FOREGROUND THE TEMPLE OF VENKATARAMANA: IN THE BACKGROUND THE RAJAGIRI AND THE SQUARE TOWER

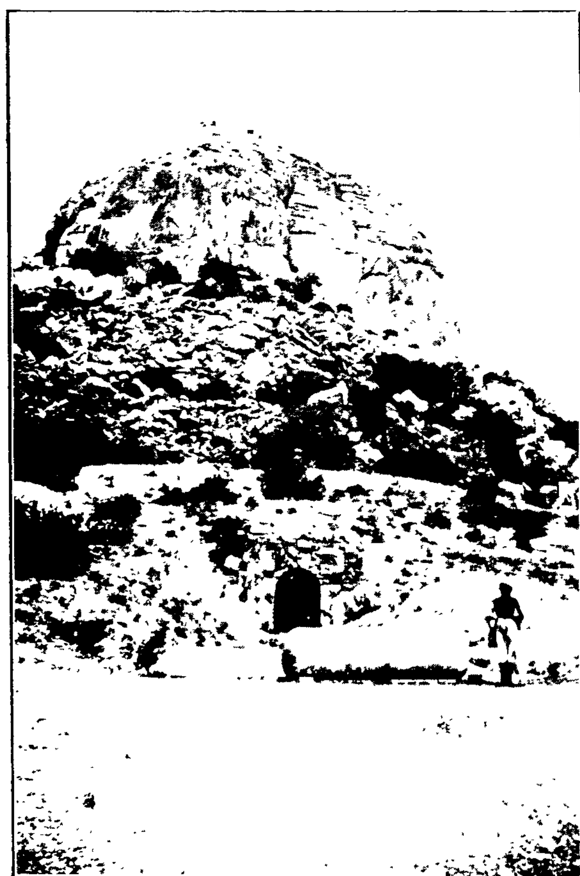


FIG. 2—RAJAGIRI

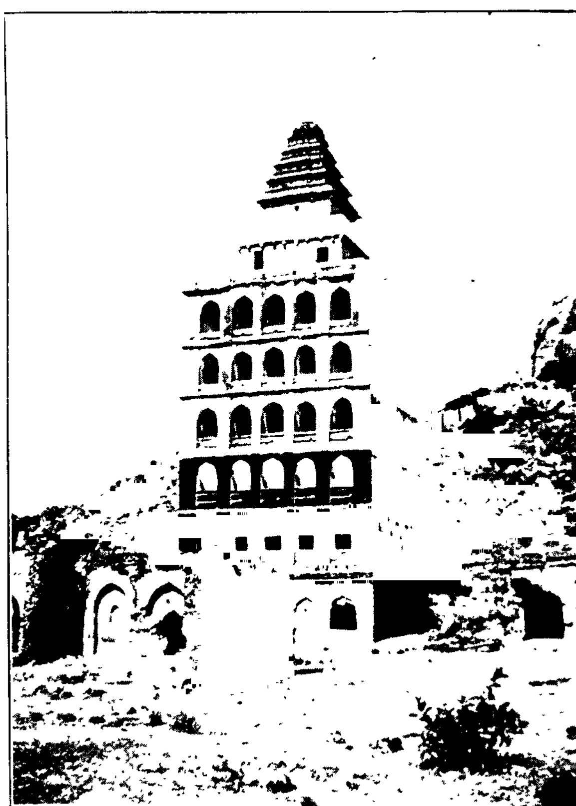


FIG. 3—THE SQUARE TOWER IN THE INNER FORT

*H. Heras, S.J.*

# THE CITY OF JINJI AT THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

IT is well known that in the days of its glory the old fortress of Jinji, in the South Arcot District, was one of the strongest and most impregnable in the whole of Hindustan. It rightly deserved to be called 'The Troy of the East,' a name given it by European travellers.

To one of these travellers, Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, S.J., we are indebted for an account of the whole city, which will repay careful study. This Portuguese Jesuit was appointed Visitor of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in India by the Most Rev. Fr. Claudius Aquaviva, Superior General of the Society. In the course of his travels he spent a few days at Jinji, in the year 1597. There were no Jesuits then at the Court of the Jinji Nâyak, but he wanted to pay his respects to Kṛisṇappa Nâyaka (1580-1620), the then ruling chief, and to thank him for his hospitality to several of the Jesuit Missionaries who had visited his Court on business.[1]

The above mentioned account sent by Fr. Pimenta to his Fr. General, and published in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, vol. X, chapter VII, pp. 205-222, reads as follows: "Wee went thence to Gingi; the greatest Citie we have seen in India, and bigger then any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted."[2]. While visiting the place last April,[3] it struck the author of the present article that the fortress could not possibly contain within its walls a city 'bigger then any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted.' My conclusion was that the city must have been outside the walls, the fortress being the citadel of the old Nâyak capital. And on closer examination of Pimenta's narrative my supposition was confirmed by the following description: "In the midst thereof is a Castle like a Citie, high walled with great hewen stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water: in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable."[4] No doubt the actual remains of Jinji mark only the site of what must once have been the heart of the old city, *viz.*, the fort and the royal palace. The position of the rest of the town, or rather of what is left of it, was my objective.

I had a full day in which to effect my purpose, and at length I succeeded. Seated on the steps that lead up to the summit of Râjagiri I consulted Orme's Plan of Jinji referred to in his *Military Transactions*. There it was; the map gave an outline of the old Fort. It was triangular in shape; the points where the bounding lines intersected were three hills; whilst the bounding lines themselves consisted of a continuous long black wall, which crowned the top of each hill, and ran across the valleys that separated the three hills, one from the other. It likewise showed the course of a small *pettah* running on the east side of the fortress outside the walls, at the very foot of the Chandrâyan-drug, the southern hill; while the present village is situated below the Kistnagiri, or northern hill. The *pettah* that existed in Orme's time and was surrounded by thin walls, of which no traces have remained, can only have been an insignificant quarter of the town. On the map there was also (what was more suggestive) a small path marked immediately in front of the Vellore Gate, on the north side of the fortress. It led westwards and curved a little to the south after passing in front of the Râjagiri; by the side of this path as marked on the map, the following inscription may be seen: "Road to old Ginji." Where was the old Jinji, of Orme's days? That was the main question.

Thereupon with map in hand I tried to identify the places. I found the path after a diligent search; it led us to a small village three miles north-west of the fort, named Mêlachêri. I opened the *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* to get some information about this settlement, and came across the following description: "Mêlachêri . . . . It was known in days

1 *Cf.* for instance my paper *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagar*, published in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* of Bangalore, January 1924, pp. 138-9.

2 P. 217. I keep to the spelling of the old translation.

3 I have much pleasure in publicly acknowledging my gratitude to the Rev. T. Gavan Duffy, Diocesan Visitor of the Catholic Schools, Tindivanam, South Arcot, for his kindness in taking me to the place and showing me the interesting historical remains so familiar to him.

4 P. 217.

gone by as 'old Gingi' and was apparently fortified." [5] Here then was the "old Gingi" of the time of Orme, the name being retained even to the present day, as one of the villagers informed us. Probably the city of Jinji, when Fr. Pimenta visited it towards the end of the 16th century, extended as far as, and included, the village of Mêlachêri. The retention of the actual name of the village confirms this supposition; for Mêlachêri means in Tamil, 'the settlement or the suburb of the west,' which evidently shows that it was originally a part of a large town.

Another fact also proves that this village was nothing else but a quarter of the old town of Jinji, *viz.*, the existence in Mêlachêri of vestiges of an old palace, which was the scene of interesting events. When Zu'lfikâr Khân, Aurangzeb's general, took possession of Jinji after the escape of Râja Râm in 1696, he appointed a noble Râjpût, named Sarûp Singh, as Governor of the city and fortress of Jinji. Sarûp Singh was succeeded by his son Tej Singh, the famous Dêsing of the Southern folklore, who broke allegiance with the Nawâb of Arcot, Sada'tu'llah Khân, refused to pay him tribute and declared himself the independent Râja of Jinji. The Nawâb marched against him, and defeated and killed in battle the unfortunate Râja[6]. Nevertheless, his descendants were recognised as Jâgîrdârs of the Jinji Jâgîr, which primarily consisted of seven *talûks*. These Jâgîrdars during the 18th century had their palace in the middle of the present village of Mêlachêri. The latest male descendant of the Râjâ Tej Singh, called Sûrubanâden Singh, owing to financial troubles, mortgaged the palace grounds to the Catholic Mission at the end of the 19th century.[7] Does all this not go to show that the old Governors of Jinji resided where Mêlachêri stands to-day ?

That the Singh family lived in those surroundings is also proved by the fact that the small village built half a mile from Mêlachêri is called Singavaram, which means the town of Singh. There is here a famous old shrine of Ranganâtha, cut out of the rock of a small hill, and surrounded by several little chapels which bespeak the ancient grandeur of the place. No traces of other monuments are at present to be found in the neighbourhood, but as late as Orme's time, as his map of the Carnatic shows, the whole space between Jinji and Mêlachêri was covered with monuments.

Now, knowing that the old city of Jinji extended three miles westwards, and supposing that the fortress was in the middle of the town, as Fr. Pimenta states, we can safely conclude that the whole city of Jinji at the end of the sixteenth century, in its most flourishing period, covered nine square miles about, and was therefore "bigger then any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted."

Fr. Pimenta coming from St. Thome entered the fort through the northern gate called the Arcot or Vellore gate. "The Naicus," he says (p. 217) "appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced us to the Grove (though consecrated to an Idoll)" I feel inclined to think that this Tower is the eight storied square tower, 80 feet high, which still stands in the rectangular court of the inner fort. "It is the most conspicuous building in all the lower fort", says the *South Arcot Gazetteer* (p. 369). "The plan of each of the stories is the

5 W. Francis, *South Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 364 (Madras 1906).

6 *Cf.* Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 215 (Madras 1861).

7 In the *Baptism Register Book of the Parish of St. Michael, Jinji*, it is stated that Sûrubanâden Singh, belonging to Chatira (Kshatriya Caste), was baptized in July 25th, 1896, by Fr. Regis (an Indian Priest) at the age of 45, his god-father being one Pannoussamy (Panuswâmi). His wife Annabâi, aged 42, and two daughters Mariambâi and Marthabâi, aged 13 and 4 respectively, were simultaneously baptized. The parents of Sûrubanâden were named Missoruada Singou (*sic*) and Krishnabâi, and at the time of the baptism of their son, they were still living in Mêlachêri, according to the same book. Fr. Godec, M.A., then Parish Priest at Jinji, whom I met in Alahdi, South Arcot, informed me that Sûrubanâdem used to call himself King of Jinji. The terrible cyclone that swept the country on December 22nd, 1916, was probably the cause of his death. He was found dead on the road the following morning, as recorded in the obituary book of the same Parish. When passing through Jinji last April, there was still living in the village in a pitiable condition the second daughter of Sûrubanâden, childless and abandoned by her husband

JINJI

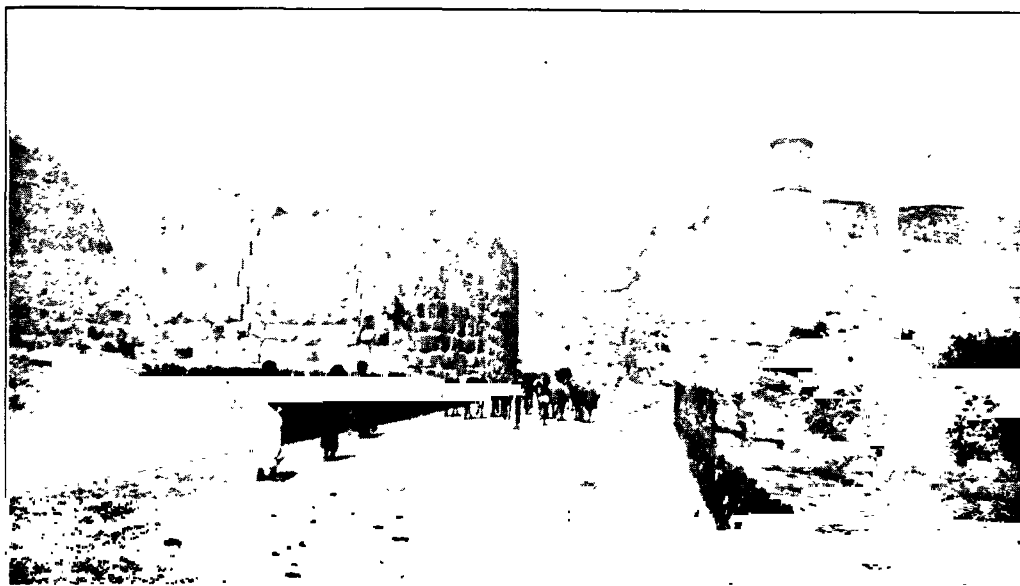


Fig. 4—The Vellore Gate

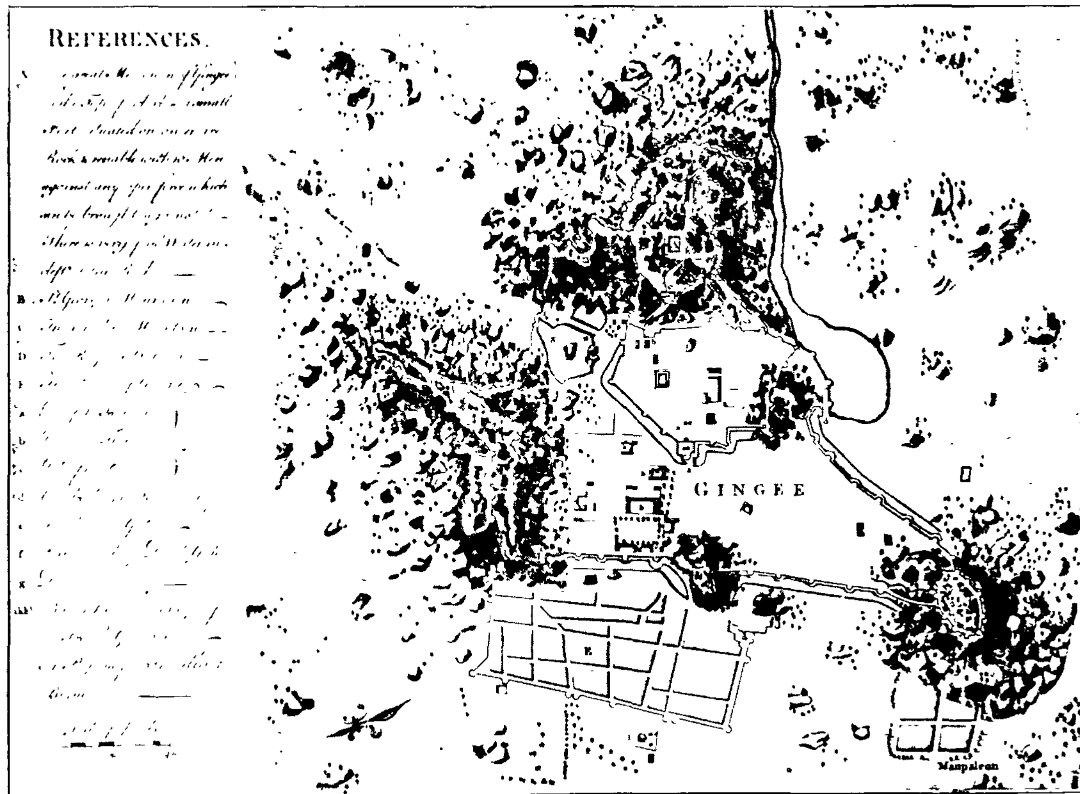



Fig. 5—Plan from Orme's Literary Transactions

same and consists of a single room about eight feet square surrounded by a verandah built on arches from which, on either side, two narrow stairways lead upwards and downwards ". I was not able to identify the situation of the grove referred to by Fr. Pimenta. The circumstance that it was " consecrated to an Idoll " makes me suspect that it was at the west of the gate of the inner fort, which leads from the foot of Râjagiri to the south-west forest. There is still a small grove in that place ; and just outside the same gate is a little shrine to Vênugôpâlaswâmi, which may perhaps be the idol mentioned by Pimenta.

" The next day, " he continues, " the inner part of the Castle was shewed us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded. In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tilts. Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot ; a Spring also of Cleare water. The Naicus had been here kept by his Uncle, whom yet by helpe of his friends he forced to become in the same place his unwilling successour, having put out his eyes." Fr. Pimenta in this passage does not speak of the citadel on the top of Râjagiri, nor of the inner fort alone, but of the whole fortress. I am almost sure that Purchas' letter has been shortened. Fr. du Jarric, who saw either its original or the first printed copy in the *Relacam Annal*, published at Lisboa, clearly distinguishes these three places. His words are as follows : " It is the largest and widest city of the whole of India. The fort stands in the middle, being itself like a town, surrounded by high walls of hewn stones and a ditch full of water."[8] Here, no doubt, the whole fortress is meant. " Within the fort stands a steep hill, which nature has made secure and art impregnable " (p. 369). These words evidently refer to Râjagiri. "There are many temples in the city and in the fort. The private dwellings are not elaborate, except some belonging to the rich and to the influential people. Among these the palaces of the King are the most prominent, built in a peculiar style with towers and verandahs." We know from this extract that the Nâyak possessed two palaces, one in the fortress (that is the inner fort at the foot of Râjagiri), the other in the city. Perhaps the latter was the one located in Mêlachêri and occupied afterwards by the Singh family. As to the palace in the fortress, Fr. Pimenta speaks of it a little further on. " The following day the Naichus brought the Fathers into the fort [*viz.* to the fortress which was already called by the author *arx*] ; as they entered, the reports of the guns and the songs of the buglers excepted them, being the soldiers in parade. Whatever rare and precious the fort contained was shown that day to the Fathers. Every thing belonging to an impregnable fort seemed to have been adopted in this one. Here the Naichus had been ordered by his uncle to be kept after the death of his father, but freed by his subjects he confined his uncle in the same fort, whom he preferred to deprive of his eyes and his liberty than of his life. Then the king riding on horse back and accompanied by a thousand armed soldiers took over Fr. Pimenta to the palace " (p. 641). These words are not given in full in Purchas' edition, because the passage we read in Purchas runs as follows (p. 218) : " He was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men". Nevertheless we learn from both passages the distinction between the fortress (*arx*) and the palace (*regia*). Hence in the following extract he spoke of the palace of the city, to which he went from the fortress on horseback, surrounded by a thousand soldiers : " In the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre. At the Porch [in the vestibule of the palace according to du Jarric] one entertained him with an Oration in his praise, a thing usuall in their solemne pompes " (p. 641). Fr. du Jarric also describes the dress of the orator mentioned by Purchas : he was *veste purpurea amictus*, dressed in red robes.

Though the history of Jinji still remains to be written, travellers who passed through it at the time of its splendour are by no means the worst sources of information for the scholar who may attempt to write it. I shall feel more than satisfied, if my comments in regard to Fr. Pimenta's account of Jinji may perhaps throw some light on the subject.

[8] Du Jarric, S.J., *Thesavrvs Rervm Indiacarvm*, I., p. 640. (*Coloniae Agrippinae*, MDCXV).

## SPURIOUS GHOTIA PLATES OF PRITHVIDEVA II.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

THESE copper plates were brought to light by Mr. Ishwar Śegram, Tahsildar in Baloda Bazar of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. They were found by a cultivator of Ghotia in his field. Mr. N. J. Roughton, I.C.S., the Deputy Commissioner of the District, was good enough to send the plates to me for deciphering the record on them.

The plates measure 13½ in. × 8½ in. and are strung with a ring having the King's seal on it. The weight of the plates with the ring is 294 tolas or a little less than 7½ lbs. The seal is circular with a seated figure of Gaja Lakshmî, having an elephant on each side pouring water on her. Below the figure of the goddess is inscribed Râja Srîmat Pṛithvîdeva in two lines, the letter *Śrî* being reversed.

The characters of the record are Nâgarî of the Kalachuri type, belonging to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

There are 36 lines in all containing 26 Sanskrit verses, the invocation at the beginning and the name of the engraver and date at the end being alone in prose. The record bristles with spelling mistakes, not one verse or line being free from them, but this is apparently due to the ignorance of the engraver, who left out several letters which he could not read, leaving blank spaces for filling up afterwards, a thing which was unfortunately never done. Had only one ellipsis, *viz* :—the date of the month, been filled up, it would have been possible to demonstrate at once the forgery of this record, to be referred to later on.

The inscription purports to record the grant of a village Goṭhayâ[1], apparently situated in Sagatta Maṇḍala, to one Gopâla Sarmâ of the Âśvalâyana Gotra, having the three *pravaras* Vaśishṭha, Maitrâvaruṇa and Kauṇḍinya. He was born of Rihila, son of Hari Brahman, and was a learned man, as he had studied the *Śrutis, Smṛitis* and *Purâṇas.* To me it appears that it was he[2] who made use of his great learning in committing this forgery, the composition whereof has been attributed to a Vâstavya (Kâyastha) Vatsarâja, son of Kîrtidhara. The Haihaya King Pṛithvîdeva II has been made the donor, and his genealogy is given, commencing from Kokkala (Kokkala), the name of Kârttavîrya being mentioned as the originator of the family. The descendants of Kokkala who find a mention are his son Kaliṅgarâja, grandson Kamalarâja, and great-grandson Ratnarâja (I). The latter's wife was Nonallâ, from whom was born Pṛithvîdeva (I), whose son was Jâjalladeva (I), whose son was Ramhadeva (Ratnadeva II), whose son was Pṛithvîdeva (II), 'of bright fame.'

The charter is dated Samvat 1000 on a Thursday of the bright fortnight of Bhâdrapada month, the most important item, the date being omitted. The record does not state what Samvat it refers to. If it be taken to be the Kalachuri or Chedi era, which was started in 248 A.D. by the ancestors of the King mentioned in this record and which was universally used in Kosala or Chhattîsgaṛh, of which Ratnadeva II is mentioned as an ornament in the tenth verse of this record, we would arrive at a period (1248 A.D.) when Pṛithvîdeva II's great-grandson and namesake, Pṛithvîdeva III, had ceased to rule and the latter's grandson or great-grandson was occupying the throne. Clearly, therefore, the Samvat referred to in the record cannot be a Kalachuri one. After the disuse of this era in Chhattîsgaṛh we find no other Samvat in use, except Vikrama or Saka. The latest date in the Kalachuri era found on inscriptions of Chhattîsgaṛh is 933 (1181 A.D.), of the time of Ratnadeva III.[3] A record belonging to the time of his son Pṛithvîdeva III, (after whom no successors find an inscriptional mention, though the line continued up till

[1] Clearly the present Ghotia, where the plates were found.

[2] He may not have enjoyed the grant himself, but surely he left it as a legacy to his descendants. He may not have been even a contemporary of Pṛithvîdêva II.

[3] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 451.

Spurious Ghotia Plates of the Haihaya King Prithvideva II

Rai Bahadur Krishna Sastri

SPURIOUS GHOTIA PLATES OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA II

[illegible]

[illegible]

The King's Seal on the Spurious Ghotia Plates



Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri

1732 A.D.) is dated in the Vikrama year 1247 or A.D. 1190[4]. In this record the word Vikrama is not specifically mentioned, but in the Khalârî stone inscription, which refers to the Raipur branch of the Haihaya kings, the date is specifically given as Vikrama 1470 or Saka 1334 corresponding to 1415 A.D., as found by Dr. Kielhorn[5] after the correction of some inaccuracies. From this it would appear that the dating in Vikrama era had gained currency by the middle of the tenth century of the Kalachuri era or the end of the twelfth century of the Christian calendar. It may be noted that the Saka era was not much in vogue in Chhattîsgaṛh, as we do not find it used except in sporadic cases, and that too in conjunction with the Vikrama era as in the Khalârî record. In the present case the Saka year would be as unsuitable as the Kalachuri year, as it would correspond to 1078 A.D., which falls about the reign of Pṛithvîdeva II's great-grandfather's grandfather.

In my view the present forgery was committed when about a hundred years since the death of Pṛithvîdeva had passed away, that is, about the middle of the 13th century A.D., when any date could have been assigned to him without being easily detected. To give the record the sanctity of great antiquity, the date of the grant was apparently put back 300 years and dated in the Samvat prevalent at the time, *viz* :—the Vikrama era, whose year 1000, corresponding to 943 A.D., gave the desired age. But the effect of this (apparently not noticed at the time) was a reference to a time anterior to the advent of the Haihayas in Chhattîsgaṛh. It fell about the time when Kokalla's father reigned at Tripuri in the Jubbulpore District.

In fact it was not Kokalla who came to Chhattîsgaṛh, but one of his 18 sons, Kalingrâja, who was great-grandfather of Pṛithvîdeva I, who in turn was as far removed from Pṛithvîdeva II, the alleged donor of Goṭhayâ village. What is most wonderful in this record is the audacity with which it was forged, throwing dust in the eyes of such great kings as the Haihayas. Perhaps this would not have been possible, but for the fear inculcated in the imprecatory texts of the *Dharma-Śâstras*, for do they not enjoin that they who seize property dedicated to Gods or Brahmans are borne as black serpents, and do not the confiscators of a Brahman's lands or those who consent to such an act live sixty thousand years in Hell ?

A facsimile of the plates is reproduced from the impressions kindly taken for me by Rao Bahadur Kṛishṇa Sâstrî, B.A. The text is so corrupt that a corrected version of practically the whole record would be necessary, which appears inexpedient in view of its being a forgery. The record is published to prevent scholars from taking it as a genuine record and uselessly labouring over it. The only lacunæ of any importance which need be filled up are :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| का । वीर्य: | which should be | कार्तवीर्य: | in line 3 |
| केक्कल: | do. | कोक्कल: | in line 4 |
| नृपवर पुरीम | do. | नृपवर त्रिपुरीम् | in line 5 |
| पृ ॥ दव | do. | पृथ्वीदेव | in lines 11 and 12 |
| रह्मदेव: | do. | रत्नदेव: | in line 16 |
| आलंवायन | do. | आश्वलायन | in line 21 |
| संजान्ति | do | संक्रांत्ति | in line 22 |
| गोठ्दागाम | do. | गोठयाग्राम | in line 22 |
| वासत्य | do. | वास्तव्य | in line 33 |
| भाद्र द | do. | भाद्रपद | in line 35 |
| गुडौ | do. | गुरौ | in line 36 |

4 Hira Lal's *C.P. Inscriptions*, pp. 107-108.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 288.

# REMARKS ON THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.
*Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from A.D. 1894 to 1903.*

(*Continued from page* 29.)

IV

**Brown's Andaman Islanders : Theories.**

(*1*) *Ceremonies.*

I now pass on to what Mr. Brown calls (p. 229) "an attempt to interpret some of the beliefs and customs of the Andaman Islanders, as they have been described in the earlier part of this work." It will be perceived that it is necessary, in dealing with the theories Mr. Brown works out upon his observations, to treat all the observations as correct, despite the criticisms to which I have hitherto subjected them.

He explains (p. 229) that "by the interpretation of a custom is meant the discovery, not of its origin, but of its meaning." He then launches out into his theories as to the meaning of the Andamanese customs, arriving, it will be seen, at novel results upon a novel system, though he does not claim novelty for it, as in a footnote (p. 325) he gives the honour of originating it to Prof. Emile Durkheim and Messrs. H. Habert and M. Mauss. He divides his interpretation into two long Chapters on "Andamanese Customs and Beliefs : Ceremonial" (pp. 229–329) and "Myths and Legends" (pp. 330–406). I propose now to follow him in these two Chapters.

Mr. Brown then explains his method, and here it is necessary to observe him closely in order to do justice to his argument. He continues (p. 229) :

> "To seek the origin of customs, as the word origin is here used, is to seek then know the details of the historical process by which they have come into existence. In the absence of all historical records, the most that we could do would be to attempt to make a hypothetical reconstruction of the past, which, in the present state of ethnological science, would be of very doubtful utility. It is otherwise with the meaning of customs.

And in regard to the term 'hypothetical reconstruction' he says : "the making of hypothetical reconstructions of the past has been regarded by a number of writers as the principal, if not the sole, task of ethnology. My own view is that such studies can never be of any great *scientific* value."

On p. 230, Mr. Brown goes on :—

> "The problems that this chapter presents are therefore not historical but psychological or sociological. We have to explain why it is that the Andamanese think and act in certain ways. The explanation of each single custom is provided by showing what is its relation to the other customs of the Andamanese and to their general system of ideas and sentiments. Thus the subject of the present chapter is not in any way affected by questions of historical origin of the customs as they exist at the present day. Nor are we concerned with the comparison of the customs of the Andamanese with those of other savage races. Such comparisons are not only valueless for our purpose, but might be misleading."

He does not consider such a method to be "a true comparative method . . . . What we used to compare is not institutions but serial systems and types." And he does not approve of separating description from interpretation, as "the field ethnologist has a great advantage over those who know the facts only second hand." He is however aware of the practical difficulties in the way of combining observation with interpretation, and says (p. 232) :—

> "I have tried to present the argument in such a way that the various steps of the analysis shall be immediately apparent, so that the reader may be able not only to judge the value of the conclusions, but also to form a clear idea of the psychological methods by which they are reached. Any attempt to explain or interpret particular

beliefs and customs of a savage people is necessarily based on some general psychological hypothesis as to the real nature of the phenomena to be explained. The sound rule of method is therefore to formulate clearly and explicitly the working hypothesis on which the interpretation is based. It is only in this way that its value can be properly tested."

Mr. Brown then states (p. 232) : " the hypothesis that seems to be most usually adopted by English writers on anthropology is that the beliefs of savage peoples are due to attempts on the part of primitive man to explain to himself the phenomena of life and nature." And on p. 233 he writes : " A second hypothesis explains the beliefs of primitive man as being due to emotions of surprise and terror, or of awe and wonder, aroused by the contemplation of the phenomena of nature. Both these hypotheses may be held together, one being used to explain primitive beliefs and the other to explain others." In this way Mr. Brown dismisses Frazer, MaxMüller, Marett and McDougall and sets up Durkheim as his guide.

We now come to a very important statement for the present purpose (pp. 233–234.) :—

" Stated as briefly as possible the working hypotheses here adopted is as follows :

(1) A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments (an organised system of emotional tendencies centred about some object), by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society.

(2) Every feature of the social system itself and every event or object that in any way affects the well-being or the cohesion of the society becomes an object of this system of sentiments.

3) In human society the sentiments in question are not innate but are developed in the individual by the action of the society upon him.

(4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given a collective expression on appropriate occasions.

(5) The ceremonial (*i.e.*, collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it form one generation to another. Without such expression the sentiments involved could not exist."

Mr. Brown then says (p. 234) :—

"Using the term ' Social function ' to denote the effects of an institution (custom or belief) in so far as they concern the society and its solidarity or cohesion, the hypothesis of this chapter may be more briefly resumed in the statement that the social function of the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders is to maintain and to transmit from one generation to another the emotional dispositions on which the society (as it is constituted) depends for its existence. The present chapter contains an attempt to apply this hypothesis to the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders."

These remarks are followed up by others equally important (p. 235) :—

" For the clearer understanding of the argument it is necessary to draw attention to a few rules of method that will be observed.

(1) In explaining any given custom it is necessary to take into account the explanation given by the natives themselves.

(2) The assumption is made that when the same or a similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.

(3) It is assumed that when different customs are practised together on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs. This rule is the inverse of the last.

(4) I have avoided, as being misleading as well as unnecessary, any comparison of Andamanese customs with similar customs of other races. Only in one or two instances have I broken this rule, and in those I believe I am justified by special considerations."

We have now Mr. Brown's argument clearly before us. There is to be no comparison and no history. The theorist is to work out his theory for himself from the facts as he understands them. *Primâ facie*, this is a very dangerous position to take up. Let us see how Mr. Brown sustains it.

### The Marriage Ceremony.

Mr. Brown commences (pp. 235 ff.) with the marriage ceremony. "The main feature of it is that the bride and bridegroom are required to publicly embrace each other." After discoursing on the subject in simple language, he says (p. 236) : "the meaning of the marriage ceremony is readily seen. By marriage the man and woman are brought into special and intimate relation to one another ; they are, as we say, united."

He next remarks that "the ceremony brings vividly to the minds of the young couple and also to those of the spectators the consciousness that the two are entering upon a new social relation," and later that it "serves to make it clear that marriage is a matter which concerns not only those who are entering into it, but the whole community." And again he says (p. 238) : "at marriage the giving [of presents] is one-sided, no return being expected, for it is an expression not of personal friendship on the part of the givers, but of the general social good-will and approval." In these words Mr. Brown adumbrates his main theory, as will be seen later.

### The Peace-Making Ceremony.

In this ceremony, Mr. Brown's special discovery, in the North Andaman, the dancers are in two parties, the one aggressive and the other passive : so (p. 238) "anger appeased dies down ; wrongs expiated are forgiven and forgotten : the enmity is at an end." The ceremony ends with an exchange of weapons, which "would seem to ensure at least some months of friendship, for you cannot go fighting a man with his weapons when he has yours." "The *social function* [of the ceremony] is to restore the condition of solidarity between two local groups that has been destroyed by some offence."

Mr. Brown's method of explanation makes it necessary to leave parts of ceremonies to be explained separately later on, and as the argument proceeds this habit will be found to be constant. In this case the passive party stands against a fibre screen left for future examination, and in both this and the marriage ceremony there is ceremonial weeping which is next examined.

### Ceremonial Weeping.

"The principal occasions when ceremonial weeping occurs are as follows (p. 239) :—

(1) When two friends or relatives meet after having been for some time parted, they embrace each other and weep together.

(2) At the peace-making ceremony the two parties of former enemies weep together, embracing each other.

(3) At the end of the period of mourning the friends of the mourners (who have not themselves been mourning) weep with the latter.

(4) After a death the relatives and friends embrace the corpse and weep over it.

(5) When the bones of a dead man or woman are recovered from the grave they weep over it.

(6) On the occasion of a marriage the relatives of each weep over the bride and bridegroom.

(7) At various stages of the initiation ceremonies the female relatives of a youth or girl weep over him or her."

Mr. Brown observes (p. 239) that the weeping "is always a rite, the proper performance of which is demanded by custom . . . . It is an example (p. 240) of what I have called ceremonial customs. In certain circumstances men and women are required by custom to embrace one another and weep, and if they neglected to do so it would be an offence condemned by all right-thinking persons."

Mr. Brown explains the weeping thus (p. 240) : "the purpose of the rite is *to affirm the existence of a social bond* between two or more persons." And he sees in it (p. 242) : "an affirmation of solidarity or social union [in the peacemaking ceremony] between groups, and that the rule is in its nature such as to make the participants feel that they are bound to each

other by ties of friendship." Similarly (p. 242) the weeping at the end of the mourning is regarded as "the renewal of the *social relations* that have been interrupted." So that the rite in the three cases above is (p. 243) "*a ceremony of aggregation.*"

So again at marriages and initiation ceremonies, which are (p. 244) "long processes that are only completed by marriage," the rite of weeping (p. 243) "serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified." At death the social ties are profoundly modified and the weeping rite (p. 244), "which is obligatory . . . . is similar to that at marriage and initiation."

After mourning the bones of the dead are recovered, and the dead is (p. 245) "now entirely cut off from the world of the living." Mr. Brown then takes the weeping as "a rite *of aggregation* whereby the bones, as representative of the dead person (all that is left of him), are received back into the society henceforth to fill a special place in the social life." On the whole he regards the ceremonial weeping as "the affirmation of a bond of *social solidarity* between those taking part in it."

Mr. Brown then draws up certain conclusions, (pp. 245-6) :—

"(1) In every instance the ceremony is the expression of an effective state of mind shared by two or more persons.

(2) The ceremonies are not spontaneous expressions of feeling : they are all customary actions to which the sentiment of obligation attaches.

(3) In every instance the ceremony is to be explained by reference to fundamental laws regulating the effective life of human beings. It is not our business here to analyse their phenomena, but only to satisfy ourselves that they are real.

(4) Each of the ceremonies serves to renew or to modify in the minds of those taking part in it some one or more of the social sentiments."

These points exhibit Mr. Brown's theory and his reasoning. My criticism of his actual argument is that the line of reasoning might easily vary with each observer. If his method of "interpretation" is generally adopted, we shall have as many different interpretations as there may be independently-minded theorists.

**Dancing.**

In considering this subject Mr. Brown breaks into that of several others connected therewith in rather a confusing manner. Firstly he observes (p. 247) that dancing signifies enjoyment and next that it is rhythmical : then that dance and song, rhythmical clapping and stamping on a sounding board, are all parts of common action. Next he observes that the function of the dance (p. 248) is to "bring into activity as many of the muscles of the body as possible," and also the two chief senses, sight and hearing, and finally that every one joins in it,—all the men in the dancing and all the women in the chorus. Lastly, he concludes with some diffidence (p. 249) that "the Andamanese dance (with its accompanying song) may be described as an activity in which, by virtue of the effect of rhythm and melody, all the members of a community are able harmoniously to co-operate and act in unity."

After discussing awhile the psychical effects of rhythm on the individual and the whole party present in creating "what we call esthetic enjoyment," Mr. Brown considers (p. 251) the effect of the dance as a social and collective activity, coming to the conclusion (p. 252) that the primary social function of the dance is to "produce a condition in which the unity, harmony and concord of the community are at a maximum." This argument, he holds, explains the dance before setting out to a fight. It arouses (p. 252) "in the mind of every individual a sense of the *unity of the social groups*, of which he is a member," and it serves (p. 253) "to intensify the collective anger against the hostile group." Similarly dance meetings in ordinary times serve (p. 253) "to unite two or more groups into one body." The whole argument and the conclusion are rather trite and quite as dangerous in ordinary hands as those on weeping.

### Personal Adornment.

The consideration of dancing leads to that of personal adornment by ornamenting and painting the body (p. 254). "The most important function of any adorning of the body [of the dancer] is to express or mark the *personal value* of the decorated individual." But "the occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom." Brides and bridegrooms are (p. 255) painted to express the "increased *social value* to the pair." So in the painting of the newly initiate and of the dead is carried on (p. 256) to express the regard of the living. Here Mr. Brown remarks that he does not believe that the personal ornament and dancing among the Andamanese are connected with sexual emotion.

### Protective Ornaments and Objects.

Some ornaments, however, (p. 257) are worn, (*e.g.*, strings of human bones), as a protection against sickness or the Spirits. Other objects that cannot be worn, (*e.g.*, fire), have the same properties. They are considered together. "The interpretation offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the *sentiment of dependence*."

The object affording protection on which the Andamanese is most dependent is fire It is his most valuable possession, for he could not make it. Says Mr. Brown :—

> "The belief in the protection power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away Spirits that cause disease and death. This belief it is here maintained is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.
> Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts ; for if it is true, we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis."

Mr. Brown then goes into details as to the protective qualities of the bows and arrows, and of their parts or of the materials from which they are made, worn as amulets and necklaces. They apply, too, to the string of the bow and other strings or rope, to the canoe and paddle used in fishing; to the very trees, canes and fibres from which they are made; to the materials, such as bees-wax used with them. The argument here is well worked out (pp. 257-263), but Mr. Brown confesses that he did not enquire whether iron for arrow heads, materials for basket-ware, or clay for pottery were looked on as protective. Two other articles—bones of animals and human bones used for personal ornament—he leaves over for future discussion.

Mr. Brown here makes a statement of such value to his subsequent argument that I must quote it in full (p. 264) :—

> "It would seem that the function of the belief in the protective power of such things as fire and the materials from which weapons are made is to maintain in the mind of the individual the feeling of his dependence upon the society. But viewed from another aspect the beliefs in question may be regarded as expressing the social value of the things to which they relate. This term '*social value*' will be used repeatedly in the latter part of this chapter, and it is therefore necessary to give an exact definition. By the *social value* of anything I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of the society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being."

This statement Mr. Brown follows up by making three propositions, which he thinks he can demonstrate (pp. 264—265) :—

"(1) Any object that contributes to the well-being of the society is believed to afford protection against evil.
(2) The degree of protective power it is believed to possess depends on the importance of the services it actually renders to the society.
(3) The kind of special service it does actually render."

Mr. Brown commences by the consideration of the use of *odu* clay, (1) in mourning, (2) at initiation, (3) in the *erapuli* design. Here he disagrees with Mr. Man (pp. 265-268), especially as to the meaning of the term 'hot' to an Andamanese. So we are not on firm ground as to the interpretation of language. Mr. Brown's explanation (p. 268) is Mr. Man's second explanation,—the Andamanese paint themselves for protection against being *smelt by the spirits*. This leads Mr. Brown to an interesting observation (p. 268) that the Andamanese "identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle." They also think that if they do not destroy the smell by painting themselves after eating certain objects they will become ill.

### Dangerous Foods.

This argument leads to that of certain foods being dangerous in association with sickness and the Spirits. The danger of foods is not equal, and Mr. Brown gives a sort of gradation (p. 269) from dugong to vegetables: the most difficult to possess is the most highly prized and dangerous. Hence Mr. Brown puts forward (p. 270) a proposition, "that the custom of painting the body after eating food is an expression of the *social value* of food." What the Andamanese feels, therefore, is (p. 272) "not a fear of food, but a sense of the social value of food."

This interpretation brings Mr. Brown into a difficulty, which he thus expresses (pp. 272-273): "the sense of the *social value* of such things as fire and the materials used for weapons translates itself into the belief that these things afford *protection against danger*. This would seem at first sight to be contradicted by the explanation that I have just given of the belief in the danger of food." He proceeds to face the difficulty and to show that the materials of food that are dangerous (*i.e.*, cause harm) in themselves are a protection when used "according to custom": *e.g.*, (p. 273) "wearing ornaments of the bones of animals that have been eaten," and thus expressing the *social value* of the animals. He believes that the preservation of the skulls of animals difficult to kill is regarded (p. 274) "as a means of ensuring success in hunting as well as a protection for the hunters."

### Initiation Ceremonies.

Mr. Brown then embarks on the initiation ceremonies, (p. 276): "I hope to show that these ceremonies are the means by which the society powerfully impresses upon the initiate the sense of the *social value* of food, and keeps the sense alive in the minds of the spectators of the ceremony." He holds that they are the means "by which the child is made an independent member of the society," and he takes them into consideration from the point of the whole society and of the initiate. They form the child's (youth or girl) moral education by a "long series of abstentions and ceremonies,"—abstention from favoured articles of food and social functions: ceremonies creating "intense emotional experience" and sense of personal *social value*.

As regards the foods eaten at initiation ceremonies, Mr. Brown explains (p. 283) the purpose of the ceremonies to be "to endow the initiate with the power to eat the dangerous foods with comparative safety," and (p. 284) "to endow the individual with a *social personality*."

### Sickness.

The danger from eating food is sickness, which is caused by an attack of the spirits of the dead (p. 285). Mr. Brown explains the Andamanese notions about the Spirits by considering the customs as to death and burial.

### Death and Burial.

The consideration of the general subject carries Mr. Brown into that of several minor ones. A death to the mind of the Andamanese does not destroy a personality. It creates a profound change, however, and turns the deceased (p. 285) from " an object of pleasurable states of the *social sentiments* into an object of painful states." The burial customs (p. 286) are " a collective and ritual expression of collective feeling."

The burial customs do not depend as much on the fear of the dead as on their *social value.* The dead man's ties of solidarity have not ceased to exist, but (p. 288) " continue until the society has recovered from the effects of his death." This, Mr. Brown thinks, explains the burial customs—abstention from particularly valued foods, painting the body with white clay and so on.

At the end of the mourning ceremonies (p. 292) " the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony. This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite that we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place." The bones are dug up as soon as the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the deceased's death, and are worn in various ways as the greatest power of protection to the wearer, just as are the bones of eaten animals. The mourners return to the normal social life with a dance and ceremonial weeping as a rite of aggregation.

### Nomenclature.

A person's name is dropped from use after his death and this custom Mr. Brown explains at some length (pp. 294 ff.) : " there is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics . . . and a very important connection between a person's name . . . and his *social personality* . . . The name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society." The name of a girl from her first menstruation to the birth of her first child is dropped and she is given " a flower name." At initiation and mourning, after marriage and after other important occasions boys' names and girls' flower-names are dropped for a time. In fact (p. 297) " at any period, in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society, his name falls out of use [is tabued]. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent, and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also."

### The Spirits.

The basis of Andamanese beliefs about the Spirits, Mr. Brown maintains (p. 297), " is the fact that at the death of an individual his *social personality* (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed."

> "The Spirits are feared and regarded (pp. 297-298) as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the Spirit (*i.e.*, the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their attachment to him, and producing a condition of dysphoria, of diminished *social activity* . . . The fear of the dead man (his body and his spirit) is a collective feeling induced in the society by the fact that by death he has become the object of a dysphoric condition of the collective consciousness."

The people's own explanation of their fear of the spirit of the dead is a fear of their own sickness and death. The basis of this notion is this (p. 298) :

"The near relatives of the deceased, being bound to him by close ties, are influenced by everything that happens to him, and share in his good and evil fortune . . . . (p. 299). The feelings of the living towards the spirits of the dead are therefore ambivalent, compounded of affection and fear, and this must be clearly recognized if we are to understand all the Andamanese beliefs and customs."

Nevertheless (p. 300) Mr. Brown holds that there is a hostility between the society and the world of spirits, which induces him once in a way to make a comparison with other peoples. And then he proceeds (p. 301) to say "that the Andamanese do not regard the power that is possessed by the Spirits as being essentially evil." This brings him to the consideration of the medicine-man (p. 301 ff.).

### Medicine-men and Dreamers.

A man can become a medicine-man in three ways :—

(1) by dying and coming to life again.

(2) by straying into the jungle and being affronted by the Spirits.

(3) by having intercourse with the Spirits in dreams.

The difference between a medicine-man and an ordinary man is the possession of the same power as the Spirits : *i.e.*, he can cause and cure sickness, and can arouse and dispel a storm. He produces his effects by communicating with the Spirits in his dreams.

Sleep is "a condition of diminished *social activity*" and therefore dangerous. All such conditions (*e.g.*, sickness) are dangerous, when (p. 303) "it is necessary to take ritual or magical precautions." Sleep is visited by dreams, "by which the nature of the spirit world may be represented by the imagination," and (p. 304) the Andamanese "regards the dream-world as a world of shadows and reflections. In his dreams he acts as his double and it is his double that becomes his spirit. "To summarize the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society."

### The Principles underlying the Ceremonial.

These considerations bring Mr. Brown to his 'Principles,' which he states thus (p. 306) :—

"(1) There is a power or force in all objects or beings that in any way affect *social life*

(2) It is by virtue of this power that such things are able to aid or harm the society.

(3) the power, no matter what may be the object or being in which it is present, is never either essentially good or essentially evil, but is able to produce both good and bad results.

(4) Any contact with the power is dangerous, but the danger is avoided by ritual precautions.

(5) the degree of power possessed by anything is directly proportioned to the importance of the effects that it has on the social life.

(6) The power in one thing may be used to counteract the danger due to contact with the power in some other thing.

(7) If an individual comes into contact with the power in anything and successfully avoids the danger of such contact, he becomes himself endowed with power of the same kind as that with which he is in contact."

Here Mr. Brown adds a caution (p. 305) : "remembering always that the Andamanese Islanders themselves are quite incapable of expressing their beliefs in words and are probably only vaguely conscious of them."

### The Social Life.

Mr. Brown now becomes more difficult to follow (p. 307) : "It has been held in this chapter that *the society* or *the social life* is the chief source of protection against danger for the individual." That is to say on the whole argument that the society is both the danger and the protection of the individual.

He then goes deeply into matters of the 'dangerous' conditions after certain foods, heat, odour and painting the body; making comparisons by the way with the ideas of the people of the Malay Archipelago and Melanesians, in the course of which he makes the notable remark (p. 312) regarding the Andamanese Calendar, that it "is a Calendar of Scents." His argument finally leads him to the hypothesis (p. 315) that "in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which *the society* acts upon, modifies and regulates, the sense of self in the individual."

Mr. Brown then states (p. 315) that "there are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans; (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments. By scarification (p. 315) "the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments." By painting the body the society makes (p. 315) "both the painted individual and those who see him feel his *social value*." Red paint (p. 316) has a double purpose,—as a protector and as a declarer of *social value*. Similarly, by putting on ornaments the society is moved by a double motive (p. 319): "the desire for protection and the desire for display."

> "We are thus brought (p. 330) to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and wearing of most, if not all, of the customary ornaments are rites, which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the *social life*, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial."

## Ornamentation of Objects.

Lastly Mr. Brown considers (pp. 323 ff.) the ornamentation of objects such as bows, canoes and baskets:—

> "Such ornamentation consists of
>
> (1) Incised patterns (on bows, etc.), which may be compared with the scarification of the body.
> (2) Painting with red paint and white clay (bows, canoes, skulls, etc.), or with prepared wax (Nautilus shell cups, etc.).
> (3) patterns made with the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* (baskets, etc.).
> (4) shells attached by thread (baskets, baby-sling, etc.).

Here Mr. Brown remarks (p. 323): "The important point to note is that the decoration applied to utensils is of the same character throughout as that which, when applied to the body, has been shown to be an expression of the *social value* of the person."

## Conclusion.

Mr. Brown's conclusion is stated on p. 324:

> "It is time to bring the argument to a conclusion. It should now, I hope, be evident that the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders form a closely connected system, and that we cannot understand their meaning if we only consider each one by itself, but must study the whole system to arrive at an interpretation. This in itself I regard as a most important conclusion, for it justifies the contention that we must *substitute for the old comparative method*—by which isolated customs from different social types were brought together and conclusions drawn from their similarity,—*a new method* by which all the institutions of one society or social type are studied together so as to exhibit their intimate relations as part of an organic system."

On p. 225 Mr. Brown says that the ceremonial of the Andaman Islands involves "the assumption of a power of a peculiar kind" which "is the source of all good and all evil in human life." And finally he says (p. 325): "It is, in a few words, the moral power of the

society acting upon the individual directly and indirectly and felt by him in innumerable ways throughout the whole course of his life." Mr. Man calls this power 'God' All this is to say that Mr. Brown is a follower of the "new method,"—the method of Durkheim.

I have tried to let Mr. Brown tell, in these pages, his story in his own language, and it seems to me that if we are to abandon the "old method" of comparative study for the new, we shall find ourselves involved, not in a scientific discussion, but in the formulation of an empirical philosophy. As regards Mr. Brown's own argument, it is a pity that it is based only on his own observations in the field, which reject all Mr. Man's that do not justify his theory.

( *To be continued.* )

## MISCELLANEA.

### MANDANA AND BHAVABHUTI.

It is encouraging to note that the query of Prof. B. N. Sharma (*Modern Review,* Nov.) about the identification of Maṇḍana and Bhavabhûti, has after all met a response (*Modern Review,* May). It is indeed a very important question; but Mr. V. R. Bhate, I regret to remark, has not paid to the question the sustained and careful attention that it deserves. In settling such important historical problems, thé first necessity is to cast off all our prejudices and pre-suppositions, not warranted by logical reasons. The arguments put forward by Mr. Bhate carry us not an inch further from where we were left by the original query. The identification of these two great historical personages is still an open question.

Now I shall try, as briefly as possible, to show that the arguments, presented by Mr. Bhate, prove nothing at all.

Mr. Bhate calls Bhavabhûti a braggart, and expects that had Bhavabhûti been known by the name of Umbeka, he must have mentioned it in the prologues of his three dramas. But it may be said that, if the commentators, who follow the tradition, are to be believed, the name Bhavabhûti itself was not the poet's genuine name. They tell us that Śiva himself appeared to the poet and gave him भूति and therefore he became known as Bhavabhûti, ( भवात् भूतिर्यस्यसः ).[1] Whatever may be the significance of this tradition, the name Bhavabhûti seems to have been a kind of pseudonym only. It is quite possible that when Bhavabhûti had passed away, his real name might have been forgotten by the coming generations. It is not a single case in the literary history of the world. The mystery about the names of Shakespeare and George Eliot is too modern an example to require any elucidation here.

The fact of Bhavabhûti's being a pupil of ज्ञाननिधि does not bar him from becoming the pupil of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa or any other person, especially as he mentions himself as a great scholar. Jagannâth Pandit-râja was a pupil of a number of persons, as he tells us in his *Rasagaṅgâdhara.* This argument of Mr. Bhate is still more weakened by the fact that the name ज्ञाननिधि is one of the least known and the most mysterious names met with in Sanskrit Literature. Unless and until ज्ञाननिधि is traced, it can prove nothing at all.

It would be a very hard task for any person, who has carefully read *Mâlati Mâdhava,* to agree with Mr. Bhate that Bhavabhûti favours Buddhism. We find quite the reverse. The character Kâmaṇḍakî, though it has many merits, does not reflect credit on the Buddhism of his time. Is a Bauddha Sanyâsinî permitted by older Buddhism to engage in love intrigues? Certainly not. If we are to follow the same trend of reasoning, we can say that he still more favours the *Tântrikas* when he introduces Saudâminî. On the face of it, it would be absurd to say so. The object of a real dramatist is never to favour or disfavour any sect. He simply holds a mirror to nature and gives us a true picture of the society of his time. Bhavabhûti was living in the time of the Vedic renaissance, and so it is no wonder if he throws side-lights on Buddhism etc., not favourable to them but rather showing their decay and degeneration.

The fourth argument of Mr. Bhate has really urprised me. He has not even taken the trouble to understand the passage quoted from Chitsukhi. Umbeka has been quoted there, not for identifying himself with Bhavabhûti, which, had it been so, would be, as Mr. Bhate observes, really absurd. He has been quoted with reference to quite a different topic discussed there. Even if the identification is not borne out by evidence other than the statements of the commentator, the passage quoted from Chitsukhi is quite sufficient to show that Bhavabhûti had written some philosophical work also.

1 *Vide Uttararâmacharita*—Vîrarâghava and Goswâmi editions.

With regard to the well-known *Kârikâ* उम्बेकः काभ्रिकां वेत्ति etc., we may say that it is found written in a number of ways. At one or two places Maṇḍana is no doubt separately mentioned: but such an old authority as गुणरत्न, the commentator on षड् दर्शन समुच्चय, does not mention Maṇḍana[2]. Even if the *Kârikâ* has the name of Maṇḍana in it, it will not carry much weight; for it is found in a later work. When once a tradition, whether right or wrong, becomes afloat, even scholarly persons begin to follow it blindly.

Whoever Maṇḍana might have been, it is well known that he lived in Mâhiṣmati Puri, the modern Mandla, which is in the Central Provinces, not very far from Berar. So it in no way contradicts the statement of Bhavabhûti.

The seventh argument of Mr. Bhate is not his own. This difficulty was also felt by Prof. Sharma, who has in his query stated arguments, both in favour of and against the identification. But it may be said that Maṇḍana, if the author of the *Naiṣkarma-siddhi* is to be believed, was in the habit of writing commentaries on his own works, and he might have done so even in the case of *Bhâvanâ-viveka*.

It is not only in the *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* that we find Maṇḍana identified with Umbeka. Krisnadeva, in his *Tantra-chûḍâmaṇi*, mentions the name of Umbeka as one of the commentators on *Tantra-vârtika*. Aufrect[3] and Hall[4], in their excellent catalogues of manuscripts, tell us that Umbeka was the vulgar name of Maṇḍana[5]. Moreover, *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*, though it abounds in so called exaggerations, can not be so easily swept aside. Exaggerations may be made in the case of descriptions, but they are not possible with regard to personal names. अर्जुन may be called पार्थ, गुडाकेश, धनञ्जय etc., at different places, but not भीष्म, द्रोण etc.

The few lines which have been written above are intended simply to remove mis-representations, which are liable to stop further research on this very important question. The question of the identification of these two bright luminaries, is as important from a historical standpoint as it is interesting from a literary point of view. It should attract minds, unprejudiced and trained in higher oriental research work.

V. N. SHASTRI.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

THE BOMBAY CITY POLICE: an Historical Sketch, 1672-1916, by S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O., sometime Commissioner of Police, Bombay. Oxford University Press, 1924.

Mr. Edwardes, for reasons of health, resigned the arduous post of Commissioner of Police in Bombay in 1916, shortly before the agitation for Home Rule commenced in India. His tenure of office came to an end, therefore, just as the old conditions of Indian Government were giving place to those now still in their infancy, and he has done well to place on record what kind of achievements he and his predecessors managed to perform in the cause of order.

In 1668 Charles II transferred Bombay to the E. I. Company and in the following year Gerald Aungier was appointed Governor and at once organised a "rude militia" consisting largely of "black Christians" (Portuguese Eurasians), to keep order. So the Bombay Police may be said to be as old as the place itself as a British possession. This body developed into a Bhandari Militia after the suppression of Keigwin's Rebellion, which it joined in 1783, largely as a result of the cheese-paring policy of Sir Josia Child. In one form or another the Bhandari Militia lasted on to 1800. It was primarily a military body for protection against neighbouring powers, but police duties were also an integral part of its occupations. The times were lawless and judicial functions were performed by officials without any real legal knowledge, added by native functionaries known as *vereadores*. By 1720 the Mayor's Court was instituted by Charter and justice became a little more regularly administered.

The police arrangements remained however so unsatisfactory that in 1771 the Bhandari Militia were definitely employed on regular police duties, under rules, some of which were severe—all Europeans ever had to obtain passes. *Coffrees* (runaway African slaves) seem to have been very troublesome at that time to the general public.

General Wedderburn was in charge of the Militia and organised a system of night patrols "from which sprang the later police administration of the Island." Crime, however, did not diminish, and in 1778 the Grand Jury complained vigorously, bringing about the appointment of Mr. James Tod as Chief of Police, who framed regulations, which were the commencement of the Bombay Police Code. He had a chequered career as head of the Police and he was never really successful, coming finally to downright

2 ओं (उ) म्बेकः कारिकां वेत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः । वामनस्तूभयं वेत्ति न किञ्चिदपि रेवणः ॥ Introduction to *Mahâvidyâ-viḍambana.* (G.O.S.)

3 *Vide Catalogus Codicum Sanskrit-orum Bibliothecæ*, 255b, 1864.

4 *Vide* Index to the *Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, pp. 166, 170, 1859.

5 *Populare igitur, Maṇḍanæ nomen Umbeka fuit.*

grief on a conviction of corruption in 1790. Crime in his day was as rampant as ever and professional begging by so-called *faqirs* and *jogis* was a public nuisance. It is so largely still.

In 1793 a Commission of the Peace was established in Bombay under an Act of Parliament, and Mr. Simon Halliday was appointed to be first Superintendent of Police up to 1800. Under his regime, police arrangements outside the Fort were thoroughly revised and placed under a Deputy Superintendent, Mr. James Fisher. At that time the Superintendent had multifarious duties, which were afterwards gradually distributed among other officials.

Crime, however, remained rampant and public protection more than indifferent, until in 1809 reform was demanded. A Recorder's Court had been established in 1798, but the powers of the Police Superintendent remained very wide, until Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder, 1803-11, declared them illegal; and indeed the procedure of the police at the time was undoubtedly arbitrary to the European legal mind. So in 1810 a Committee of Enquiry was set up under Mr. Warden, Chief Secretary to Government, which produced a famous document known as *Warden's Report*. The Police had become notoriously inefficient and corrupt, and no wonder, for Halliday's successor as Superintendent was tried for corruption. Warden's Report ended in Regulation I of 1812 which "formed the basis of the police administration of Bombay, until 1856." But Warden demanded the services of an "admirable Crichton" in the Superintendent, and such a person was not forthcoming till 1855, in Mr. Charles Forjett. Consequently the new Regulations effected "little or no improvement" in the state of public safety. Every householder "was compelled to employ private watchmen, the forerunners of the modern Ramosi and Bhaya." Punishment of ordinary folk continued to be barbarous, and it was not till 1846 that a Brahman was executed for a crime of violence. In 1832 occurred the serious Parsi-Hindu riots, precursors of many of the like in later years. The cause was thoroughly Indian, as they arose out of a Government order for the destruction of pariah-dogs. There may have been some improvement in general security at this time, but property remained in an unsafe condition. This is not to say that no attempts at improvement were made, for indeed such were constant. To go into a minor matter,—at some period before 1838, the uniform peculiar to the Bombay Police-sepoy was established :—dark blue with a yellow head-dress.

One of the causes of failure on the part of the police administration lay in the class of official appointed to the executive control of the force. They were junior military officers, appointed without reference to their capacity for the work, poorly paid and never encouraged to do well. In 1850 there were serious riots between Parsis and Muhammadans, and the outcry against the police had become so great that there was a fresh enquiry in 1856 and Mr. Charles Forjett was appointed Superintendent just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. This was a fortunate appointment indeed. Thereafter the history of the Bombay Police resolves itself into an account of the proceedings of the seven successive Commissioners up to 1816.

Charles Forjett (1855-1863) was a Eurasian (the modern Anglo-Indian). "He owed his later successes as a police-officer to three main factors, namely his great linguistic faculty, his wide knowledge of Indian caste-customs and habits, and his masterly capacity for assuming native disguises." He owes his fame to his action during the Mutiny, but he did many things for the city in his charge and the body he controlled. How he saw where the real danger was locally in the Mutiny, and how he discovered the plot and met the situation generally is well told by Mr. Edwardes, who writes truly when he says: "one hesitates to imagine what might have happened in Bombay, if a man of less courage and ability had been in charge of the force in 1857." Forjett lived on in England in dignified retirement in the enjoyment of many well-earned rewards till 1890.

He was succeeded by an equally capable man, Sir Frank Souter (1864-1888), in whom the city was peculiarly fortunate, as he was in charge for 24 years. In the last years of Forjett there had been an enormous increase of every kind in Bombay, due to the profits in cotton during the American Civil War, including a great influx of bad characters. There was accordingly a re-organisation of Police, but not of the Magistracy till 1877, and it was not till 1883 that the Police Commissioner began to issue reports on the working of his department. His great difficulty was the under-manning of the force, and for one reason and another that has been the trouble of all his successors. In Souter's time too, commenced another trouble, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca from Bombay, nowadays a matter of great consequence owing to increased facility for travel. He had to face also serious riots, Sunni and Shia in 1872 and Parsi-Muhammadan in 1874, which were partly aggravated by the extreme constitutional theories of the Governor. An injudicious police magistrate also interfered disastrously in the searching of suspicious characters at night. Another new difficulty arose at this time, due to facilities of travel, in the care and guarding of distinguished visitors, and yet another in the matter of housing the police, which it took the Government 14 years to rectify after admitting its immediate importance. All this and much more Sir Frank Souter had to face, and during his long administration the city had progressed in size and importance almost beyond belief.

Sir Frank Souter was succeeded by Col. W. H. Wilson (1888-1893), another remarkable man, who again was troubled with insufficient buildings and staff, which he did not succeed in getting made up to proper strength. He did, however, succeed in putting a stop to the mischievous rain-gambling—an ingenious form of indulgence in a vice to which Bombay is addicted. In one case in which he was concerned—the poisoning of a whole Memon family by a dissolute member thereof—he was hampered by a peculiarly Indian habit—the whole Memon community persistently made every effort to render enquiry abortive.

The next Commissioner was Mr. R. H. Vincent (1893-98), who was a foreigner by birth. He too was hampered by an insufficient force. During his five years of service occurred the most serious riot (Hindu-Muhammadan, 1893) ever known in Bombay; the outbreak of plague which threw an enormous amount of risky labour on the Police, so gallantly met as to draw an eloquent panegyric from Mr. Edwardes; and the initiation of the political Ganapati festivals (1894), organised by the notorious agitator, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and subsequently a constant source of trouble to the public peace.

Mr. Vincent was succeeded by Mr. Hartley Kennedy (1899-1901), who managed to do a good deal during his short term of office and, like Forjett, was successful in assuming native disguises. He was at once faced by a great volume of crime as a consequence of the plague,—the immediate causes being disease, starvation and unemployment, and a minor cause the reluctance of the judicial authorities in India to convict on the evidence of police alone. Mr. Kennedy also did much to reduce the beggar nuisance and to reduce the number of those who procured women, Indian and European, for prostitution.

The next Commissioner, Mr. H. G. Gell (1902-09) was a popular selection, but he had an anxious career and had to deal with Royal visits, riots and strikes, including those of the Post Office and Indian Police themselves, and a dangerous revolutionary movement, to meet which last his office was not organised, besides being understaffed. There came the inevitable 'enquiry,' but it did not lead to any practical result during Mr. Gell's occupancy of the Commissionership. There was trouble also about the low pay of the police which constituted a legitimate grievance, the setting straight of which occupied so long a time that a large portion of the force struck, and unfortunately the situation was not righted until the settlement had the appearance of the rights of the men being extorted from the Government. At this period the great cotton fires occurred, which were believed to be incendiary, though the culprits were never detected, partly owing to the system of insurance; the regulation of street traffic owing to the great increase in wheeled traffic which showed the inability of native police to direct it; the system of the deportation of beggars which was stopped by the Government, leading to a serious and permanent increase in the nuisance. The illiteracy of the Indian subordinate officers, too, had become a serious handicap to efficiency, but was not remedied in Mr. Gell's time. He also had to face serious Muharram riots and strikes in consequence of the conviction of the agitator Tilak, in the settlement of which his successor, Mr. Edwardes, played an important part. Finally towards the end of his time the Morison Committee reorganised the detective branch of the Police force into the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.).

Mr. Gell was followed by the author himself, Mr. S. M. Edwardes, (1909-1916), who had drafted the Report of the Morison Committee. He was the first member of the Indian Civil Service to hold the post and met with some opposition at first, in consequence, from the Imperial Police Service. Like all his predecessors Mr. Edwardes was hampered by an inadequate force owing to financial stringency. He managed, however, to accomplish much in the seven years that he held the Commissionership: establishing the *Police Gazette*, issued three times daily with all details of recent crimes, setting up many new stations, teaching English to the Indian constabulary; controlling motor traffic and the Mecca pilgrimage; improving the Finger-Print Bureau; looking after derelict girl children; and finally during the great war clearing the city of undesirables. He had also to face Royal visits and a great increase in the cocaine traffic and also the collapse of improperly formed Indian banks, a feature of the Bombay habit of speculation. But his main achievement was "the abolition of the dangerous and rowdy side of the annual Muharram celebration," the story of which is excellently told. Another very important matter for the time being were his excellent arrangements, well backed by his subordinates, during the Great War.

Such in brief is the story of the Bombay Police and its leaders—to those who can look back to life in Bombay a very instructive tale. 'History' is so much taken up with the general doings of the great that one cannot be too thankful for the story of the guarding of public safety, which so intimately concerns private life. The present writer can recollect Bombay when there was a big gap in the Railway route to Calcutta and the official Military method of proceeding to Madras was by sea down the west Coast to Beypore near Calicut in a small six-knot British India steamer and thence by rail to Madras; when the kindly old Parsee, Pestonji, still ruled at the bygone Byculla Hotel, and when the ladies of his race were only beginning to show themselves to European friends here and there.

Afterwards he was in Bombay for varying periods occasionally and saw its immense progress until the days of the plague, when fear was great and the courage of very many magnificent, when men went about quietly and the funeral pyres at the burning ghats were always alight; and then again, not many years ago as a man's life goes, when the motor car and other things had once more greatly changed the superficial aspect of the city. One knew of course that the police existed. They were in the streets and their superior officers were acquaintances, but how life and property were kept safe and the struggle to secure that safety were unknown quantities. One read, equally of course, of riots, strikes and disorders, but they did not personally concern one, and whatever the period, either in the old Bombay or the new, the feeling always was that one was in the forefront of life—up to date in fact—and that there was no reason to be anxious as to the safety of property. The book lifts the veil and shows us clearly how great the difficulty of preserving life and property has always been; how continuous the anxiety and the labour and the self-sacrificing skill and thought that has been bestowed by many men devoted to the public welfare. Thinking over these things, one cannot but be grateful to them, and to Mr. Edwardes for explaining their work so well.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LE PÊLERINAGE À LA MEKKE; ÉTUDE D'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE. By GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES. Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome XXXIII; Paul Geuthner, Paris. 1923.

The author describes this work as "notes for the study of the rites of the pilgrimage." It is much more than that; for he has given in great detail the result of a prolonged enquiry into the various ceremonies and rites connected with the Muhammadan pilgrimage to Mecca, into the history and character of the principal buildings and edifices round the *Ka'aba*, and into the significance and origin of the customs which are imposed upon the devout *Hâji*. He has not touched upon the political aspect of the *Haj*, considering this to be of far less importance than the religious aspect, "If we except," he writes, "certain personages of avowed sanctity and the shoal of professional beggars, the entire population of Mecca lives by and for the pilgrimage. It prepares it, leads it, exploits it, and that done, it sinks into a somnolent existence, broken only by low intrigue, meagre calculation and petty passion. The pilgrimage places an auroeole on the brow of the Musalman and gives him, without doubt, an ineffaceable memory of great religious emotion and of solid kinship with unknown people from far distant countries. But those exalted ideas are tempered by sentiments of a meaner character. The political consequences of the *Haj* are of but feeble growth."

After a close analysis of the *haram* and the various *tabus* and rites connected with it—particularly the rites of *ihrâm*, known by the technical name of *miqât* (plural *mawâqit*), he investigates the history and character of the famous *Ka'aba*, which is to-day an irregular cube of heavy stones, containing the black stone which forms, as it were, the focus of the pilgrimage. The *Ka'aba* has been destroyed more than once. Abd-el-Malik bin Merwân, for example, rebuilt it in A.D. 693 in the form which it was supposed to have had in the time of the Prophet. It was later reconstructed by El Walid bin al Moghaira, who transformed it from a simple enclosure into a regular temple or mosque, covered by a terrace. Later again it was destroyed and rebuilt by Ibn ez Zubair, who added new features, including a second door. The author explains fully the character of the alterations and restorations of the *haram* which have been carried out since the seventh century. As regards the black stone, he suggests that in ancient pre-Islamic times the *Ka'aba* may have been the shrine of a pagan Arab deity, Hobal. There is some evidence that in the time of the Prophet's youth it was surrounded by divers idols and served as a kind of pagan pantheon, and that the principal deity was the black stone, regarded as "the right hand of Allah on earth" or "the eye of Allah." He indicates that the sanctity of this stone was derived from the fact that it was the *corner-stone* of the *haram*, and that in this respect its worship was identical with the reverence accorded to, and the sacrificial rites connected with, corner-stones among the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hebrews. When the Prophet founded his monotheistic faith, he was forced, like the original propagators of other creeds, to assimilate a good deal of pagan custom and superstition; and, consequently, when the old shrine of the *haram* became the dwelling of the One God, the black stone was permitted to retain its sanctity as the corner-stone of the transfigured shrine. Some of the rites formerly connected with the *Ka'aba* and its black stone have been abolished in the course of ages; and two of them, which are described by old Muhammadan writers, indicate that the worship belonged to a very ancient form of popular and pre-Islamic superstition.

One of the author's most illuminating chapters is concerned with the sacred well *Zemzem*, which was an essential feature in the ancient worship of the *Ka'aba* and was closely connected with the rite of *siqâya* or ceremonial potation by the pilgrims. At one time the right of superintending and arranging this congregational drinking was vested in a particular Meccan family. Ancient literature shows that there were once three buildings beside the sacred well, one of them a tank for ablution and other two, pavilions. In one of these pavilions was manufactured a fermented liquor of dried grapes and barley or corn, called *nabidh* or *sâwiq*; in the other the liquor, which was very bitter, was mixed with the water of *Zemzem*. Up to the eighth century A.D., the pilgrims, or rather the worshippers at the ancient shrine, drank only the liqour (*sâwiq*), which was first offered to the deity and then consumed, as a pledge of a good harvest. Moreover, the actual ceremony of drinking took place at the moment of *tawâf al ifâdha*—the ceremony which, so to speak, desanctifies the worshipper and sets him free to indulge in worldly avocations, including especially sexual acts. When Islam took the place of the old pagan cult, Muhammadan orthodoxy could not tolerate the consumption of *sâwiq*; but finding the custom too old and firmly founded to be wholly abolished at once, it combined it with the cult of the well of *Zemzem*—thus, so to speak, diluting the pagan superstition with the pure water of a higher faith, and preparing the way for the ultimate abolition of the drinking of *sâwiq*, which occurred some time in the eleventh century A.D.

In describing the other edifices which stand near the *Ka'aba*, the author discloses fresh traces of the pre-Islamic cult which centred round the shrine. He regards the *maqâm Ibrahim* as a pagan relic, which may once have been a stone of sacrifice. After the foundation of Islam, tales had to be invented to explain its presence and importance in the new faith, and so gradually it became the *qibla*, behind which the principal Imam stands when leading the prayers within the sacred enclosure. The sacred pigeons of the mosque, *el masjid el haram*, are another link with the pagan past and take the mind back to the worship of pigeons, connected with the cult of Astarte of Byblos, which was widely known throughout the lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea. This same Syrian cult probably provided the basis of the prohibition of sexual union during the period of *ihrâm*. The asceticism of Islam, if we are to accept the author's view, had nothing whatever to do with this embargo upon carnal pleasures, wh ch was a definite part of the ancient rite at the annual worship of the mother-goddess. But whatever its origin, the prohibition for a fixed period during the ceremonies at Mecca still operates; and it is only after the sexual *tâbu* has been raised by the *tawâf al ifâdha*, or rite of desanctification, that the pilgrim is free to seek the embraces of woman. The fact that by far the greater number of pilgrims are men, who travel without their women folk, is probably responsible for the growth of prostitution at Mecca. Other ceremonies now performed there, which originated in the paganism of pre-Islamic ages, are the sacrifice of animals and the ceremony of cutting the hair or shaving the head; and these, as well as other features of the annual *Haj*, such as ablution, prayer, costume, and the *talbiya*, which have to be observed by every pilgrim before he is fit to approach the shrine, are discussed by the author with the help of all available evidence as to their character and significance.

This review may suitably conclude with an extract from the final note in which the author sums up the lesson of his researches. "Entre temps sans doute quelques pratiques ont disparu, celles du *sawiq* par example. Mais le formalisme reste dominant, et c'est lui qui continue à régler le *hajj*. Et les pratiques les plus anciennes et les plus nettement magiques persistent, méme contre l'effort de la doctrine orthodoxe. Il faut constater que ce ne sont pas les peuples lointains, nouveaux venus à l'Islam, qui ont apporté des pratiques heterodoxes, et que, comme on le sait, "l'innovation condamnable" (*bida'*) des docteurs musulmans est presque toujours une coutume ancienne, plus puissant que tous leurs écrits; ce sont les Arabes d'Arabie, les Bedouins, les Mekkois eux-mêmes qui conservent les vieux usages antéislamiques, qui ont cependant perdu leur signification. Ici, comme en d'autres matières, l'élargissement de la pensée est venu de l'extérieur, des centres nouveaux de culture où se mêlaient des pensées diverses, et la capitale religieuse de l'Islam est restée, et rien n'est plus normal, un centre de pratiques mesquines, de discussions étroites et de mercantilisme religieux. Le mouvement de l'Islam moderne doit tenter, ici comme ailleurs, de combiner, en une doctrine harmonieuse, les traditions d'un glorieux passé intellectuel avec les exigences de la pensée moderne."

S. M. EDWARDES.

# THE COPPER-PLATES OF UTTAMA-CHOLADEVA IN THE MADRAS MUSEUM.[1]

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A, AND

M. K. NARAYANASAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L.

THE set of copper plates containing the subjoined inscription belongs to the Government Central Museum, Madras. The plates are bound together by a ring, which bears on it an inscription in Sanskṛit, which distinctly tells us that it belongs to the Pâṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman, one of whose documents is also found in the Museum. The seal, which must have belonged to our plates, is put on another set : it also contains an inscription in Sanskṛit, mentioning the fact that it belongs to the Chôḷa king. Evidently therefore the rings and seals have got mixed up and have been affixed to wrong sets.

As early as 1891 this set of copper-plates was reviewed by Dr. Hultzsch : he writes, "No. I is an inscription on five copper plates, for the loan of which I am indebted to the Superintendent, Government Central Museum, Madras. The character is Tamil and Grantha. Both the beginning and the end of the inscription are lost. The plates are strung on a ring which bears a well-executed seal. The chief figure on the seal is a seated tiger, the emblem of the Chôḷas, in front of which are two fish, symbol of the Pâṇḍya kings. These three figures are surrounded by a bow, the emblem of the Chêra king, at the bottom, a lamp on each side, and a parasol and two *chaurîs* at the top. Round the margin is engraved a Sanskṛit *ślôka* in Grantha characters, which may be translated as follows :—'This is the matchless edict of king Parakêsarivarman, which teaches justice to the kings of his realm.' The full name of the king is found at the end of the first side of the first plate : Kô-Parakêsarivarman, *alias* Uttamachôḷadêva. The legend Uttama-Chôḷa is engraved in Grantha characters on both sides of a gold coin, and the legend Uttama-Chôḷa in Nâgari characters on the reverse of a silver coin, both of which are figured in Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* (Nos. 151 and 154). The obverse of the silver coin bears the figures of a tiger which is seated between two fish and a bow, while a sitting tiger and a single fish are represented on both faces of the gold coin. The resemblance of the devices on the coins to those on the seal of the inscription leaves little doubt that both the coins and the inscription have to be attributed to the same king Uttamachôḷa. The edict was issued by the king in the sixteenth year of his reign at Kachchippêḍu, *i.e.*, Conjeevaram, and at the request of a minister of his, in order to confirm the contents of a number of stone inscriptions which referred to certain dues to be paid to a temple of Vishṇu at Kachchippêḍu. Thus, according to a stone inscription of the twenty-second year of some Kô-Parakêsarivarman, the villagers of Kûram and of Ariyaṟperumbâkkam (Nos. 15 and 18 on the Conjeevaram taluk map) had to supply 500 *kâḍi* of paddy per year as interest for 250 *kaḻañju* of gold, which had been lent from the temple treasury, and the villagers of Uḷaiyûr (No. 115 on the same map) had to supply 150 *kâḍi* of paddy as interest for 50 *kaḻañju* of gold. According to a stone inscription of the ninth year of Kô-Vijaya-Kambavarman, the villagers of Olukkaippâkkam had to pay 1 *kaḻañju* and four *mañjâḍi* of gold per year as interest for 24 *kaḻañju* of gold. As one *mañjâḍi* is 1/20th *kaḻañju*, the rate of interest comes to 5 per cent., while in all the Tanjore inscriptions it is 12½ per cent. In the sixteenth year of some Kô-Parakêsarivarman, the inhabitants of four different quarters of Kachchippêḍu received 200 *kaḻañju* of gold, for which they had to pay an interest of 30 *kaḻañju*. Here the rate of interest is 15 per cent. The last date referred to in the preserved part of the inscription is the eighteenth year of some Parakêsarivarman, 'who took Madura and Ceylon.' "[2]

[1] This article was contributed to the Journal in 1911, but was unfortunately mislaid until a recent date.

[2] *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy* for the year 1891 pp. 4—5.

The inscription[3] is recorded in Sanskrit and Tamil ; a large portion of the former is lost with a few plates which are missing at the beginning. Thus we have lost the most important portion, that dealing with the *praśasti* of the Chôḷa dynasty : but the Tamiḷ portion is sufficient to indicate the name of the king by whom, and the purposes for which, the grant was issued. The Sanskrit portion and the Sanskrit words occurring in the Tamil portion are written in Grantha alphabet, and the Tamil in Tamil characters. The Tamil writing is quite similar to the beautiful writing belonging to the reign of Râjarâja I., found in the Brihadîśvara temple at Tanjore and on the Chôḷêśvara temple at Mêlpaḍi. The orthographical peculiarities are not many and we may therefore notice the few striking ones. Distinction between *ḍ* and *v* is made by impressing a gentle curve at the bottom of the former ; see *kuḍaba* occurring in ll. 6 and 10 in which *ḍ* is found ; compare it with *v* occurring in °*bhava* in l. 8. The long *î* in secondary vowels is written with a distinct loop, which the short *i* has not ; *e.g.*, °*dar'anîyu* in l. 10 ; in *kîyêy* in l. 22 etc. Difference is also made between short and long secondary *u* symbols of the consonant *m* : *e.g.*, *mûvênda*° in l. 14 ; *mûṉṟu* occurring in ll 38, 39, etc. The letter *ṭi* has the secondary *i* joined to *ṭ* on the top of it : compare °*pâpi* occurring in l. 23, *paḍi* in l. 25, *paṉṉirand'ukku* in l. 50, etc.

The document belongs to the 16th year of the reign of Parakêsarivarman Uttamachôḷadêva and records that, while the king was seated in the south Chittira-maṇḍapa in the palace at Kachchippêḍu, the *adhikârin*, Nakkaṉ Kaṇichchan *alias* Śôla-mûvênda-vêḷar of Śikkar, requested His Majesty that, as the grants made to and enjoyed by the deity of Ûragam had not been registered, they might be reduced to writing in proper form. The king commissioned this same *adhikârin* to attend to this business. Thereupon, this specially deputed officer examined all the old records and, after getting himself properly equipped with the details of the income and expenditure, makes the necessary arrangements.

The items of income according to the inscription are :—

(1) Taxes on articles sold by weight or by measure in the city of Kachchippêḍu.

(2) The produce of the lands purchased from the temple funds in the following places :—

(*a*) In Tuṇḍuṇukkachchêri, the plot of land on the south of Śendaraipottaṉ ; the *cheṟuvu* north of Kaḍâḍikkuṇḍil and Vaḷakkil-kuṇḍil, which is in the enjoyment of Kôṉêriyâr.

(*b*) Bought from the citizens of Kachchippêḍu, the plots of land called Chitravallipperuñjeruvu, Lôka-mârâya-pperuñjeruvu.

(3) Interest on the following amounts lent out from the temple treasury to the following public bodies :—

| | | | | Kaḷañjus. | | Interest. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | To the sabha of | Ariyarpperumbâkkam | .. | 250 | | 500 *kâ lis* |
| (*b*) | Do. | Uḷaiyûr | .. | 50 | | 150 *do.* |
| (*c*) | Do. | Oḷakkaippâkkam | .. | 24 | | 1 *kl.*—4 *mj.*[4] |
| (*d*) | To the inhabitants of | Kambulânpâḍi | .. | 73½ | } 200 .. | 35 *kl* |
| (*e*) | Do. | Adimâṉappâḍi | .. | 73½ | | |
| (*f*) | Do. | Kañchakappâḍiyâr | .. | 35 | | |
| (*g*) | Do. | Êruvaḷchchêri | .. | 18 | | |

(4) Taxes on houses situated in the suburbs of Sôḷâniyamam at the rate of 1 *nâḷi* and 1 *uḷakku* of oil and 2 *nâ'is* of rice.

[3] This inscription is edited from impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, in 1905. Though this copper-plate grant was noticed so far back as 1891 by the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, seeing that nothing was done towards publishing the same, I applied for impressions to Mr. Thurston who under the orders of the Government readily supplied them to me.—M.K.N.

[4] *Kl* and *mj* stand for *kaḷañju* and *mañjâḍi* respectively.

From the amounts realised from these four sources the following expenditure has to be incurred :—

| No. | Item of Expenditure. | *kâḍi.* | *padakku.* | *nâḷi.* | *kl.* | *mj.* a year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rice offering to the god of Ûragam three times a day | .. | 3 | 6 | .. | .. |
| 2. | Two different vegetables to do. | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. |
| 3. | Ghee, a *uḷakku* a day | .. | .. | 5 | .. | .. |
| 4. | Curds three times at a *uri* for each occasion | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. |
| 5. | Betel leaves and nuts three times a day | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. |
| 6. | Firewood do. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. |
| 7. | Pay of the officiating priest at one *padakku* paddy per diem and five *kaḷañjus* of gold per annum for cloths | .. | 1 | .. | 5 | .. |
| 8. | Do. his assistant at 6 *nâḷis* a day and 1 *kaḷañju* of gold a year for cloths | .. | .. | 6 | 1 | .. |
| 9. | Do. guard of the temple at one *kuṛuṇi* of paddy per diem and two *kaḷañjus* of gold per annum for cloths | .. | 1 | .. | 2 | .. |
| 10. | Pay of the two gardeners at one *kuṛuṇi* and four *nâḷis* a day, and one *kaḷañju* of gold a year for cloths, for each | .. | 3 | .. | 2 | .. |
| 11. | *Âchârya-pûja* on each Saṅkrânti at 1¼ *kaḷañjus* of gold, for twelve months, 15 *kl.* | .. | .. | .. | 15 | .. |
| 12. | For sandal and incense at ⅛ *poṉ* a month ; for one year, 1½ *kl.* | .. | .. | .. | 1½ | .. |
| 13. | Three baths per diem ; for the whole year, ¾ *poṉ* | .. | .. | .. | .. | ¾ |
| 14. | Three cloths for the deity for a year, one *kaḷañju* of gold | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. |
| 15. | Pay of Musicians as under :—<br>(*a*) One big-drummer<br>(*b*) Two small-drummers<br>(*c*) One player on *karaḍikai*<br>(*d*) Do. *tâḷam*<br>(*e*) Do. *śekaṇḍikai*<br>(*f*) Do. *kâḷam*<br>(*g*) Do. *kai-maṇi*<br>Total number, nine persons, 150 *kâḍis* of paddy per annum due as interest from the *sabha* of Uḷaiyûr and the lands purchased from the citizens of Kachchippêḍu and Tuṇḍuṇukkachchêri | 150 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 16. | Pay of cleaners and sweepers of the temple premises, per diem 3 *nâḷis* | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. |
| 17. | For the two deities set up in the Karikkâla-teṛi:— | | | | | |
| | (*a*) Rice offering for each at 6 *nâḷis* three times a day, for both the deities | .. | .. | 6 | .. | .. |
| | (*b*) Vegetables three times a day | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. |
| | (*c*) Fuel | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. |

| No. | Item of Expenditure. | *kâḍi.* | *padakku.* | *nâḷi.* | *kl.* | *mj.* a year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (*d*) | Ghee three times a day, one *uḷakku* at 5 *nâḷis* of paddy | .. | .. | 5 | .. | .. |
| (*d*) | Two lamps, one for each deity, at one *uri* of ghee | .. | 1 | 4 | .. | .. |
| (*f*) | Sandal and incense at 1 *mj.* per mensem, for one year | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 |

We have seen above, under the heading of income, that the two following were set apart for a festival to be celebrated in the month of Chittirai, lasting seven days; *viz.*, the interest on 200 *kaḷañjus* of gold amounting to 30 *kaḷañjus*, the taxes on houses in the suburbs of Sôḷâniyamam amounting to some quantity of oil and rice. The expenditure on the first item was arranged as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Oil consumed in burning torches, etc. | 7 *kaḷañjus.* |
| Flowers and sandal | 2 ,, |
| To the *dêvaraḍiyârs* | 5 ,, |
| Feeding Brahmans | 10 ,, |
| To the bearers of the palanquin of the deity and to the specially invited musicians | 1—5 ,, |
| Total gold | 30 *kaḷañjus.* |

The accountant of Sôḷâniyamam was to keep accounts for this temple, and the remuneration for his service was to be one *kuruṇi* of paddy per diem and two *kaḷañjus* of gold a year.

A perpetual lamp was to be burnt from the interest on the sum of 25 *kaḷañjus* borrowed by the Śaṅkarappâḍiyâr of Iraṇajayappâḍi, Êkavîrappâḍi and Vâmanappâḍi. The evening lamp was to be burnt from the oil collected from the inhabitants of Śôlâniyamam.

Now about the extra expenses on account of the two deities already mentioned :

(1) For bathing them on the Uttarâyana Saṅkramaṇam and Chittirai Vishu, for the torch bearers and banner carriers and the Parushainâyaṉmârs, one *tûṇi* of paddy.

(2) For him who arranges the *ghôshṭhi*, one *tûṇi* and one *padakku.*

(3) For *pûja*, half a *kaḷañju* of gold.

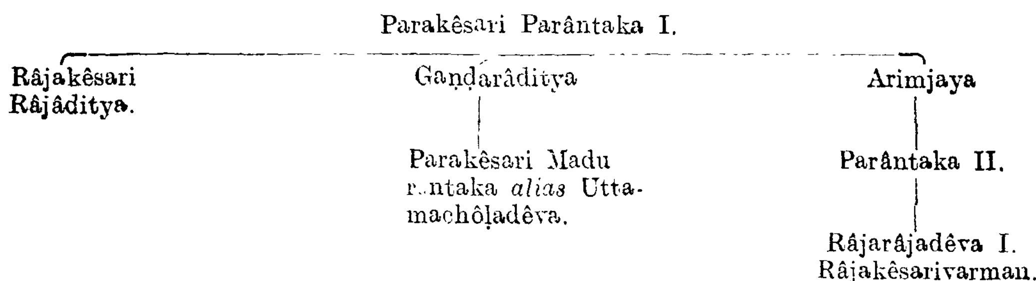
Besides these, other items of expenditure might be incurred slightly over and above the arrangements herein made. If any obstacle occurred in the proper management of the temple affairs, those of the eighteen *nâḍus* were to settle the differences. The officers in charge of this city, the *Âṭṭai-vâriyar*, (the municipal members), the members of the (*sabha* of) Êṟṟuvaḷichchêri and of Kañjagappâḍi were to audit the temple accounts immediately after the festival was over. Those of the above-mentioned *chêris* alone could nominate the temple guards in conformity with the rules laid down in the records kept in the temple. The temple manager, the guards and the accountant were not to be taxed by the city. If the temple authorities were not able to obtain, for the conduct of the *pûja*, the services of those who had already learnt to officiate as temple priests, they should appoint only such Brahmans as are well versed in the *vêdas*.

This document was written at the command of the *adhikârin* by *madhyasthan* Nâṟpatteṇṇâyira Maṅgalâdityan of Iravîrappâḍi, belonging to this city.

At the end of the inscription a statement is made that the citizens of Kachchippêḍu sold the plot of land called Mârâjapperuñjeṟuvu to the temple of Ûragam.

The engraver of this document, who has done his duty most satisfactorily and splendidly, was one Arandâṅgi Pôrmigavîran *alias* . . . . So far about the contents of the record. We shall turn our attention to the historical side of it.

The king Parakêsarivarman Uttamachôḷadêva, to whose reign this record belongs, must evidently be later than Parâkêsarivarman Parântaka who took Madirai and Îḷam, an epigraph of whose 18th year is quoted herein. We know from some other inscriptions that Râjarâja I bore the surname Uttamachôḷadeva,[5] but he was a Râjakêsarivarman. Therefore the Uttamachôḷadêva of the present grant must be different from Râjarâja I, for the person mentioned in the present grant was, as we already stated, a Parakêsarivarman. We know on other epigraphical evidence that Madurântaka, the son of Gaṇḍarâditya, was also known by the name of Uttamachôḷadêva. In No. 199 of the collection of the Epigraphist with the Government of Madras for the year 1901, we read ' Parântakaṉ Mâdêviyar, the queen of Gaṇḍarâdityadêva, *alias* the great queen of the Sembiyaṉ, (the Chôla),—the queen who had the fortune to bear as her son Madurântakadêva *alias* Uttamachôḷadêva '.[6] Almost the same terms are employed in describing this queen in two other records, one of Tiruvakkarai and the other of Uyyakkoṇḍân-tirumalai. The former runs thus :—' Sembiyaṉ Mâdêviyâr, the queen of Śrî Gaṇḍarâdityadêva,—the queen who had the fortune to bear Uttamachôḷadêva'[7]. The latter reads, ' Pirântakan Mâdêvadigaḷ *alias* Śrî Śembiyaṉ Mâdêvi, the queen who bore Madurântakadêva *alias* Uttamachôḷadêva.[8] From these quotations it is clear that Madurântaka, the son of Gaṇḍarâditya, went by the name of Uttamachôḷadêva. As the names Parakêsari and Râjakêsari are alternately borne in the Chôḷa dynasty, they must have belonged to the kings of that dynasty as follows :—




Again, an inscription of the 24th year of the reign of Râjarâja I., found in the Dârukâvanêśvara temple at Tiruppalâtturai, actually quotes an inscription of the 13th year of Uttamachôḷadêva. No doubt the Uttamachôḷadêva here must refer to Madurântaka, the king to whose reign the Madras Museum plates belong.[9] Sir Walter Elliot describes two coins with the legend Uttamachôḷa, and Mr. Venkayya also mentions in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1904 that Dr. Hultzsch describes several bearing the same legend, in both Nâgari and Grantha ; some of these it would appear are attributable to the king of our record, while others are said to belong to the reign of Râjêndrachôḷadêva I. All these facts conclusively prove that, prior to Râjarâja I, there lived a king named Uttamachôḷadêva, and that he was identical with Madurântaka.

The date of this king is obtained by No. 265 of the collection of the Madras Epigraphist for 1907. It belongs to the Mahâliṅgasvâmin temple at Tiruviḍaimarudûr and is dated in Kali year 4083, in the 13th year of the reign of Uttamachôḷadêva *alias* Parakêsarivarman.

[5] An inscription in the Śiva temple at Tiruvâsi near Trichinopoly which calls this king by the name Uttamachôḷadêva.

[6] " Śrî Gaṇḍarâdittadêvar nambirâṭṭiyâr Pirântakaṉ mâdêvadigaḷ Pirâṭṭiyâr Śembiyaṉ mâdêviyâr magaṉâṉa Madurântakadêvarâṉa Uttamasôḷadêvarai tiruvayiṟu-vâykka-uḍaiya Pirâṭṭiyâr."

[7] No. 200 of 1904 ; " Śrî Gaṇḍarâdittadêvar nambirâṭṭiyâr Śrî Uttamasôḷadêvaraittiruvayiru-vâykka uḍaiya Pirâṭṭiyâr Śrî Śembiyan mâdêviyâr."

[8] No. 95 of 1892 ; " Madurântakadêvarâna Śrî Uttamasôḷadêvarai tiruvayiru-vâykka-uḍaiya Pirâṭṭiyâr Pirâṉtakaṉ mâdêvaḍigaḷâṉa Śrî Śembiyaṉ mâdêviyâr."

[9] No. 276 of 1903."

From this, the date of his accession is inferred as 969—70 A.D. The last known date of this king is the 16th year, which corresponds, to 985, the year in which, we know, Râjarâja I ascended the throne. Hence it is very likely that Madurântaka died that year and was succeeded by his nephew Râjarâja.

Another inscription, No. 325 of 1905, mentions that Madurântaka's wife was the daughter of a Milâḍuḍaiyâr, and we know from the Leiden and Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grants that his son was Gaṇḍarâdityadêva. He led a very pious life, visiting and setting right the affairs of several temples and singing their praises. A decade of his verses is included in the collection of hymns called the *Tiruviśaippâ*.[10]

The Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates state that the people urged Râjarâja I to take up the reins of the government, but that he sternly refused to accept their kind solicitations, saying he would not take up the sovereignty as long as his uncle, Madurântaka, was fond of ruling. It is said that eventually Arumoḷidêva, (Râjarâjadêva I), was anointed as heir-apparent, even while Madurântaka was 'bearing the burden of the kingdom.' This step might have been taken by Madurântaka on perceiving what direction the inclinations of his son Gaṇḍarâditya took.[11] From amongst the youngsters he seems to have picked up the fittest and the most popular, Râjarâja I, to be his successor.

Uttamachôḷa's mother was called Pirântakan Mâdêvaḍigaḷ *alias* Sembiyaṉ Mahâdêviyar. She seems, like her grand-son, to have been a very pious lady. She built a number of temples for Siva ; for instance, the Chandramauḷîśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai,[12] the Âpatsahâyêśvara temple at Âḍuturai,[13] the Tiruvaṛaneri temple at Tiruvârûr, etc.[14] were built by her. Some of these constructions were completed in the reign of Râjarâja I., and therefore she seems to have survived her son Madurântaka and to have lived fairly long during the reign of Râjarâja I.

In connection with the name of the mother of Madurântaka, Mr. Venkayya has committed a mistake. He speaks of her as Uḍaiyapirâṭṭiyâr *alias* Sembiyaṉ Mâdêviyâr.[15] The compound *Vayiṛu-vâyttal* means 'becoming pregnant with' or 'bearing so and so'; hence '*Uttamachôḷadêvaṛai vayiṛu-vâykka-uḍaiya-pirâṭṭiyâr*' means 'the queen who had the honour of bearing Uttamachôḷadêva as her son.' This wrong interpretation has brought into existence an altogether fictitious queen named Uḍaiya Pirâṭṭiyâr. The phrase *vayiṛu-vâyttal* occurs in several places in Tamil literary works ; *e.g.*, in *Perumâl Tirumoḷi*, the saint Kulaśêkhara addresses Srî Râma as '*Kauśalai-taṉ maṇi vayiṛ-vâyttavaṛê* !'[16]

The inscription refers to transactions that took place on the following occasions :—

(1) In the 22nd year of the reign of Kô-Parakêsarivarman.

(2) In the 9th year of the reign of Kô-Viśaiya-Kampavarman.

(3) In the 16th year of the reign of Kô-Parakêsarivarman.

(4) In the 18th year of the reign of Srî Parakêsarivarman who took Madirai and Îḷam.

Of these, the transactions that took place in the first two reigns, are said to have been found engraved on the wall of the temple.

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10 He has sung a decade of verses beginning with *miṉṉâr-uruva-mêl*. He visited the temple at Tîkkâli-Vallam (Tiruvallam, near Kaṭpâḍi) set right the affairs of the temple and bathed the central shrine with 1,000 pots full of water. He set up an image of Śiva in the temple at Guḍimallam, etc. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 102, and No. 222 of 1903 respectively.)

11 *Ep. Ann. Rep.* for 1906, p. 68, para. 16.

12 No. 200 of 1904.

13 No. 357 of 1907.

14 No. 571 of 1904.

15 *Ep. Ann. Rep.* for 1904, p. 11, para. 20.

16 Perumâḷ Tirumoḷi, 8th Decade, v. 1.

One of us has shown elsewhere that Kampavarman must have ruled only after Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I.[17] Dr. Hultzsch takes him to be a brother of Nṛipatuṅgavarman.[18] We are inclined to take the Parakêsarivarman mentioned thrice in this record to be identical with Parântaka who took Madirai and Îḷam.

The following are the names of places mentioned in the inscription :—Ûragam, Tuṇḍuṇukkachchêri, Kambuḷânpâḍi, Adimânappâḍi, Kañjakappâḍi, Kûram, Oḷukkaippâkkam, Êṛṛuvaḷichchêri, Raṇajayappâḍi, Êkavîrappâḍi, Vâmanappâḍi, Sôḷâniyamam, and Kachchippêḍu. Of these, Kûram and Oḷukkaippâkkam excepted, all others appear to have been the names of the various quarters in Kachchippêḍu, which is a modified form of the name of Kâñchipuram. The Vishṇu temple at Ûragam has been praised by the Vishṇava saints, Tirumaḷiśai and Tirumangaiyâḷvârs.[19] The village of Kûram is situated at a distance of six miles from Kâñchipuram, and is famous as the birth place of Srîvatsachinna-miśra, better known as Kûrattâḷvân, who was the foremost of the disciples of Srî Râmânuja, and who wrote down the *Śrî-Bhâshya* to the dictation of Râmânuja. It is in this place that Vidyâvinîta Pallava built a temple for Pinâkapâni, under the name of Vidyâvinîta-Pallava-Paramêśvaragaram. Oḷukkaippâkkam is perhaps identical with Ozhakkôlpaṭṭu in the Conjeevaram tâlûka of the Chingleput District.

In the course of this inscription we come across the name Tôḷâchcheviyâr Êlâkkaiyar. We are unable to say if it is the name of a single person or of a class of men. The first member of this compound literally means ' he or they with ears unbored ' ; the second means, ' he or they whose hands shall not receive (alms and such like things).' It is said that their line became extinct, a statement which precludes the taking of these for an order of recluses. After they became extinct, in the suburb of Sôḷâniyamam, which was enjoyed by them free of taxes by royal sanction, a number of people seem to have squatted. Since the abolition of taxes on Sôḷâniyamam was solely for the benefit of the Èlâkkaiyar, the small taxes mentioned in an earlier part of the paper were levied upon these squatters, for the benefit of the temple.

The inscription informs us that there were three images in the temple of Ûragam, one the principal deity and two others in a quarter of the temple called the Karikâla-terri.[20] This latter word means a *pial*, a raised platform. The platform seems to have been named after Karikâla, one of the early sovereigns of the Chôḷa dynasty. There is also a likelihood of its being called after some later member of the same dynasty, for we know other kings, who bore the same name as that early king, reputed to have built the embankment of the Kâvêri.

The fact that the festival is mentioned to be of seven days' duration, seems to indicate that the *tantra* that was followed in the service of temple was the *Vaikhânasa* and not *Pâñcharâtra* system. The latter was systematically introduced in almost all the important Vishṇu temples in Southern India by Râmânuja.

The present inscription is of more than merely historical interest, in that we learn a good deal about the state of civilisation of the times, what the staff generally employed in temples in those days was, what the qualifications of the officiating priests were, etc., etc. We have also some knowledge of the comparative value of bazar articles and the rate of interest and other similar matters. The rate of interest does not appear to be constant : it must be admitted that in some instances it was rather heavy. Interest was received either in money or grain.

17 *Christian College Magazine* for 1905.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 196.

19 Verses beginning with '*nâgattaṇai-arunda yôga-nidi*' and '*ninṛadenḍ Ûragattu*' of Tirumaḷiśaiyâḷvâr (vv. 63-4 of Tiruchchhanda-viruttam), and '*Ninṛadhu*' (*Tirunedundândagam*, v. 8), '*kalleḍuttu*' (*ibid.*, v. 13), '*madiḷ Kachchiy-Ûragamê*' (*Śiriya-tirumaḍal*, l. 69), '*Ûragattuḷḷânai*' (*Periya Tirumaḍal*, 127).

20 These might be the gods at Tirukkâragam and Tonmiragam, sung by Tirumangaiyâḷvâr.

## TEXT.[21]

### First Plate : First Side.

१. यति स्म च तेषां युग्मवंशाङ्कशालिनान्तेष्वेव कु [ कुव ] ळानपाटि केसहप्पा—
२. ख्यातिमानगाख्ये व च् चेरीत्याख्यातेषु वाटकेषु तथा तद्वेमशतद्वया न्यध—
३. त्त तेष्वव वाटकेष्वतिमानपाटि कु दुवळ [ न ]पाटीति वाटकद्वयजातांस्तन्तुव [ या ]—
४. न्तस्यैव हरेस्तुला प्रस्यादि मानसंमूतेष्वर्थेषु हेमद्वयमतेष्वर्थे —
५. चायन्ययालोविनां श्रीकार्य्यकृनाममावात् स ए[ व* ] राजा श्रीकार्य्यकर—
६. णाय तानेव स्व[ य* ] न्ययुङ्क्त: दातव्यमूमासि मात्रे ड्डुबकसाहितन्तण्डु—
७. ल प्रस्थयुग्मन्तैलप्रस्थञ्च चो नियमनिव्यैनहरकस्थत्रिधाम्ने ना—
८. देयं राजभाव्यं करमिति मधुगोन्माथिना शून्यभावाच्चोळेनाज्ञापितै—
९. स्तैरथ नगरजनैरप्यनुज्ञातमेतत् [ ॥ १* ] आयव्यावथालिख्य चो नियमवा—
१०. सिभिः मासक्रमेण चैकैकन्दर्शनायौ कुडमूर्बिभ. [ ॥ २* ] राजवक्त्रतामेषाञ्चतु—
११. र्वाटनिवासिनाम् हेरः कार्य्यनियुक्तैश्च सार्द्धमूरुकवासिनः [ ॥ ३* ]—

Śrî Kô-ppara-

12. kêsaripanmar-âṇa śrî Uttamaśôḷadêvarkku yâṇḍu padiṇâṛâvadu Uḍai-
13. yâr Kachchippêttu kôyilin-uḷḷâl teṛkil Chittira-manḍapatt-eḷun-
14. daruḷi irukka adigârigaḷ Śôlamûvênda-vêḷâr Emberumân ik-Kachchippêṭṭu
15. Ûragattu niṉṟaruḷiṉa Dêvarkku ik-Kachchippêṭṭuk-kôl-niṟai kûliyum kâla-
16. ḷavu [kû]li[yu]m ivarkku pôgamây varum maṟṟum ittêvarkkê Kachchippêṭṭum Tu-
17. ṇ[ḍuṇu]kkachchêriyilum vilai koṇḍudaiya bhûmiyum maṟṟum poli-
18. ûṭṭuḷḷaṇavum muṉbu ittêvarkku nivandañ-jeydiilâmaiyi-
19. l nivandañ-jeyyavum ik-Kachchippêṭṭu iraṇḍu śêri ittêvaruḍai-
20. ya śrîkâriyan-kaḍaikâṇavum aruḷichcheyvad-eṉṟu viṇṇappañ-jeyya i-
21. k-Kachchippêṭṭu Ûragattu niṉṟaruḷiṇa dêvarkku ivvûr kôl-niṟai kûliyum kâlaḷa
22. vu kûliyum vilai koṇḍudaiya bhûmigaḷum poliûṭṭuḷḷaṇavum nîyê (y) ni
23. vandañ-jeyviy-eṉṟum ivvûr Kambuḷânpâḍiyum Adimâṇappâḍiyum i-
24. vviraṇḍu śêriyum i dêvar śrîkâriyam-ârâyavum ippariśu nivandañ-jeygav-eṉ-

### Second Plate : First Side.

25. ṟum aruḷichcheyya adigâri Śikkar-uḍaiyâṉ Nakkaṉ Kaṇichchaṉ-âṇa Sô-
26. ḷamûvêndavêḷâṉ viṇṇappattâl nivandañ-jeyvittapaḍi [||*] kâlaḷa-
27. vu kûliyum kôl-niṟai kûliyum i dêvar vilai koṇḍ-uḍaiya nilaṅgaḷil
28. pôgamum i dêvar poli-ûṭṭu śilâlêkhaippaḍi KôpParakêsaripanmaṟku
29. yâṇḍu irubatt-iraṇḍâvadu Kûrattu sabhaiyârum Ariyaṟperumbâkkattu
30. sabhaiyârum koṇḍa poṉ irunûṟr-aimbadiṉ kaḷañjiṉukku
31. taṅgaḷûr eṇṇâḷip-poṟkâlâl ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku aṭṭakka-
32. [ḍa]va poliśai nellu aiññûṟrukkâḍiyum Uḷaiyûr sabhayâr śilâ-
33. lêkhaippaḍi koṇḍa poṉ aimbadiṉ kaḷañjiṉâl ôrâṭṭai nâḷai-
34. kku aḷakkakkaḍava poliśai nellu nûṟṟaimbadiṉ kâḍiyum Kô-vi-
35. śaiya Kampapanmaṟku yâṇḍu oṉbadâvadu Oḷukkaipâkkattu sabhai-
36. yar śilâlêkhaippaḍi koṇḍu kaḍava poṉ irubattunâṟ-kaḷañjiṇâl ôrâ-

### Second Plate : First Side.

37. ṭṭai nâḷaikkiḍa-kkaḍava poliśai-ppoṉ kaḷañjê nâlu mañjâḍiyum ni-
38. vandañjeydapaḍi [||*] tiruvamirdu mûṉṟu sandikku nel mukkuṟuṇi aṟunâḷiyu-
39. m kaṟiyamudu iraṇḍukku mûṉṟu sandikku nel nânâḷiyum neyyamudu niśadam

[21] From inked impressions kindly furnished by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras.

40. uḷakkiṉukku nel aiññâḻiyum tayiramudu pôdu uriyâga mûṉṟu sandikku [ta-]
41. yiramudu nâḻi-urikku nel muṉṉâḻiyum aḍaikkâyamudu mûṉṟu sandikku
42. nel muṉṉâḻiyum viṟagiṉukku nel iruṉâḻiyum ârâdikkum
43. vêda-brâhmaṇaṉ oruvaṉukku nel padakkum ivaṉukku puḍavai-mudal
44. ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku poṉ aiṅgaḷañjum parichârakañ-jeyyu-mâṇi oruvaṉukku
45. nel aṟunâḻiyum ivaṉukku puḍavai mudal ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku poṉ
46. kaḷañjum tirumeykâppâṉ oruvaṉukku niśada-nel kuṟuṇiyum ivaṉu-
47. kku puḍavai mudal ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku poṉ-iru-kaḷañjum nandavaṉam uḻap-
48. pâr iruvarkku niśada-nel kuṟuṇi nâṉâḻiyum ivargaḷukku puḍavaikku poṉ

**Third Plate : First Side.**

49. kaḷañjum Saṅkirânti oṉṟiṉukku âchâryya pûśaṉai utpaḍa poṉ kaḷañjêy kâlâ-
50. ga Saṅkirânti paṉṉiraṇḍiṉukku poṉ padiṉain-gaḷañjum tirumeyppûchchu-
51. kkum tirupugaikkum tiṅgaḷ araikkâl poṉṉâga ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku
52. poṉ kaḷañjaraiyum tirunamaṇigai mûṉṟukku ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku po-
53. ṉ mukkâlum tirupparisaṭṭam mûṉṟukku ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku poṉ kaḷañ-
54. jum ugachchagaḷ talaippaṟai oṉṟum maddaḷi iraṇḍum karaḍigai oṉ-
55. ṟum tâḷam oṉṟum śekaṇḍigai oṉṟum kâḷam iraṇḍum kai-
56. maṇi oṉṟumâga âḷ oṉbadiṉukku puḍavai mudal-utpaḍa Uḷaiûr poli-
57. ûṭṭu nel nûṟṟaimbaddiṉ-kâḍiyum Kachchippêṭṭu nagarattârpakkal vilai ko-
58. ṇḍuḍaiya nilattil Chittiravalli-pperuñjeruvâṇa paṭṭiyum Tuṇḍu-
59. ṉukkachchêriyil vilai koṇḍuḍaiya nilattil mêṭṭu madagâṟu pâñja
60. Śendaraippottaṉ nilattukku vaḍakkil taḍi mûṉṟum Kaḍâḍikuṉ-

**Third Plate: Second Side.**

61. ḍi[li]ṉ vaḍakkil cheṟuvuv-oṉṟum paḷḷa madagâṟu pâñja nilattuḷ
62. Kônêriyâr pôgattil vaḍakkil kuṇḍilumâga taḍi aiñjiṉâl pa-
63. ṭṭi nilamumâga innilam iraṇḍu paṭṭiyum ippoliyûṭṭu nel nûṟ-
64. ṟaimbadiṉ-kâḍiyum uvachchargaḷ oṉbadiṉmarkku nivandamâgavum [ | *] tirune-
65. ḷukkiḍuvarkku niśada-nel muṉṉâḻiyum Karikâla-teṟṟiyil iruvar Dêvark-
66. ku mûṉṟu sandikku niśadam-ariśiy-aṟunâḻiyâga niśadam-ariśi kuṟuṇi nâ-
67. ṉâḻikku nel mukkuṟuṇi aṟunâḻiyum kaṟiyamudu mûṉṟu sandi-
68. kku nel nâṉâḻiyum viṟagukku nel muṉṉâḻiyum mûṉṟu sandikku ney-
69. yamudu uḻakkiṉukku nel-nnâḻiyum iruvar dêvarkkum tirunondâ-viḷakki-
70. raṇḍiṉukku ney-urikku nel kuruṇi-nâṉâḻiyum tirumeyppûchchukkum
71. tiruppugaikkum tiṅgaḷ mañjâḍi-pponnâga ôrâṭṭai nâḷaikku poṉ paṉ-
72. ṉiraṇḍu mañjâḍiyum ivviruvar dêvarkkum nivandhamâgavum [|*] KôpParakêsaripa-

**Fourth Plate : First Side.**

73. nmarkku yâṇḍu padiṉârâvadu Kachchippê[ṭ]ṭu Ûragattu niṉṟaruḷiṉa dêvarpakkali-
74. vvûr Kambuḷâṉpâḍiyâr koṇḍa poṉ eḻubattu mukkaḷañjaraiyum A-
75. dimâṉappâḍiyâr koṇḍa poṉ eḻubattu-mukkaḷañjaraiyum Kañ[ja]ga-
76. ppâḍiyâr koṇḍa poṉ muppattaiṅgaḷañjum Èṟṟuvaḷichchêriyâr
77. koṇḍa poṉ padiṉeṉ-kaḷañjum âgappoṉ iruṉûṟṟu-kkaḷañ-
78. jiṉukku kaḷañjiṉvây piḷavu-poliśaiyâga ôrâṭṭai nâ-
79. ḷaikku vanda poliśai-ppoṉ muppadiṉ-kaḷañju ippo-
80. n muppadiṉ-kaḷañjum i dêvar Chittirai tiruviḷâvukku nivandañjeyda
81. paḍi tiruviḷâ êḻunâḷaikkum eṉṉaikku poṉ êḻu-kaḷañjum êḻu nâḷaikku nâ-
82. ṟu pûvum nâṟu śândukkum poṉ irukaḷañjum êḻunâḷum kôṭṭi śey-

83. yum dêvaradiyarkku korrukkum pûśanaikkum-âga pon aiṅgalañjum êḻu
84. nâḻum brâhmaṇa-bhôjanattukku anrâdagattâl ner-koṇḍu

**Fourth Plate : Second Side.**

85. ûttuvadâna pon padin(ka)kalañjum dêvar paḷḷichchivigai kavuñjivi-
86. gaiyârkkum śirappu vanda uvachcharkkum êḻu nâḻaikku pon kaḷañjum
87. kaṇḍaḷiva pon aiṅgal ñju âgappon nêr tiruviḷâvukku viḷakku pi-
88. ḍippârum koḍi eduppârum Kambuḷânpâḍiyârum Adimâṇappâḍiyârum
89. Erruvaḷichchêriyârum Kañjagappâḍiyârum i dêvar śêriyâṇa Śôḷâniya-
90. mattu munbuḷḷa Tôḷachcheviyarâṇa Êlâkkaiyar echcharramai-
91. yil i vêlâkkaiyyar pûrvva-marjjâdi iṟai iṟuk[ka] kaḍavarallâmai-
92. yil ichchêrikku-ppurattu ninru vandêrina kuḍigaḷai maṇaiyâl tiṅgaḷ nâḻi
93. uḷakk-eṇṇaiyum irrunâḻi ariśiyum i dêvarkkê(y)-iṟaiyâga koṇḍu marru inna-
94. garañjuttiṉa iṟai eppêrpaṭṭadum koḷḷâdidâgavum[||*] ivargaḷai idanri mar-
95. ṟu iṟaikâṭṭiṉâr Geṅgai iḍai Kumari iḍai śeydâr śeyda pâvan-koḷva-
96. dâgavum enru ippariśu Madiraiyum Îḻamum-goṇḍa śrî Parakêsaripanmarku-

**Fifth Plate : First Side.**

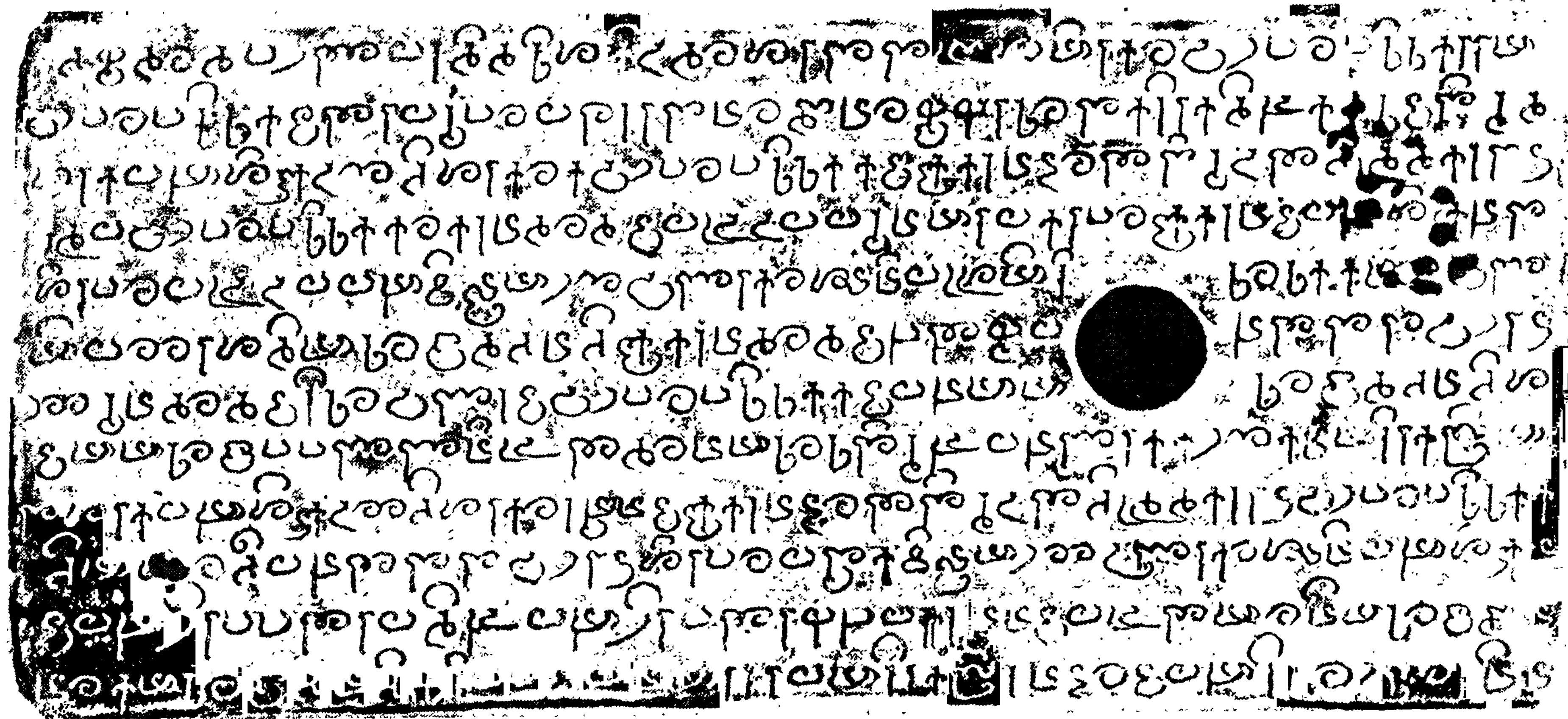
97. yâṇḍu padinettâvadu ikachchipêṭṭu nagarattâr śeyda vyavasthaippaḍiyê(y) i-
98. dêvarum ivargaḷai iviṟaiyê(y) koḷvadâgavum ichchêriyâr i dêvarkku
99. kaṇakku iduvadâgavum ivaṇukku i dêvar baṇḍârattê niśadam kuṟuṇi nellum
100. âṇduvarai irukaḷañju pon iduvadâgavum[||*] ivvûr Iraṇajayappâḍi Ekavîrap-
101. pâḍi Vâmana Saṅkara Saṅkarappâḍiyumâga mûnru śêri-chChaṅgarapâḍiyârum konda pon
102. irupadin-kaḷañjiṉâl munbu ninra śêriyârê kaḍava nondâ-viḷakkon-
103. rum Sôḷaniyamattârattum ennai sandi viḷakkerippadâgavum [||*] ira-
104. ṇḍu śrîkôyiluḷ dêvargaḷai Uttarâmayana Saṅgrântiyum Chittirai Vishuvum sna-
105. panamâttuvadarkum tiruviḷâviṟku viḷakku-ppiḍippârkum koḍi eḍukkum-âḷuk-
106. kum tirumurram pugunda parushai-nâyaṇmârku ariśi tuṇiyum gôshti śeydâṇu-
107. kku ariśu tunippadakkum pûjanai-ppon arai-kkaḷañjum marrum śrîkôyiluḷ
108. kuṟaivuḷḷana nivandam pârâdê kaṇḍaḷivile śeyvadâgavum ittêvar śrîkâri-
109. [yu]m iḍaiyûṟuḷḷana padinettu nâṭṭiyârumê kaḍai kaṇḍu tîrndu kuḍuppa-
110. râgavum[||*] iññagaratt nagaram-âḷvâṇum âṭṭai-vâriyarum Êrruvaḷichchêriyârum
111. Kañjagappâḍiyârum ittêvarviśam aḷindadu âṇḍutôṟum tiruviḷâchcheyda-
112. vaḷavê kaṇakku kâṇbadâgavum ichchuṭṭappatta irandu śêriyârumê dêvar baṇ-
113. ḍârattu vaitta nivandaṅ-goṇḍu tirume[y]kâppu iḍuvadâgavum[||*] ittêvar śrîkâryya-
114 m kaḍaikkâṇbâraiyum tirumeykâppaṇaiyum kaṇakkeḻuduvâṇai-
115 yum nagaramê javasthai śeydu iṟaikoḷḷa-pperâdadâgavum[||*] śrîkôyi-
116 lukku śrîkôyil nambây nirambinârai-ppirâduvidil vêdam vala brâ-
117. hmaṇaṇaiyê ârâdikka iḍuvadâgavum ippariśu adigârañjeyvâr-êva arai ô-
118. lai śeydên iññagaratt-Iravirappâḍi madhyasthan Nârpatteṇâyira Maṅgalâditta-
119. nên eḻuttu[||*] ikKachchipêttu nagarattârpakkal vilai koṇḍa nilam Olôga-
120. mârayapperuñjeruvil kiḻakkil mêr-migudikkuṟaivu utpaḍa virru-kkuḍuttôm mâ
121. ṇagarattôm[||*] inda śâsanam eḻuttu veṭṭiṇa Arandâṅgi Pôrmigavîraṇâ . . . .

**Translation.**[22]

*Lines* 1—11. (In) the sixteenth year of (the reign of) the king Parakêsarivarman *alias* Uttamachôḷadêva, when His Majesty was pleased to be seated in the south Chittira-maṇḍapa in the palace at Kachchippêḍu, the *adhikârin*, Chôḷa-mûvênda-vêḷâr, (humbly) submitted

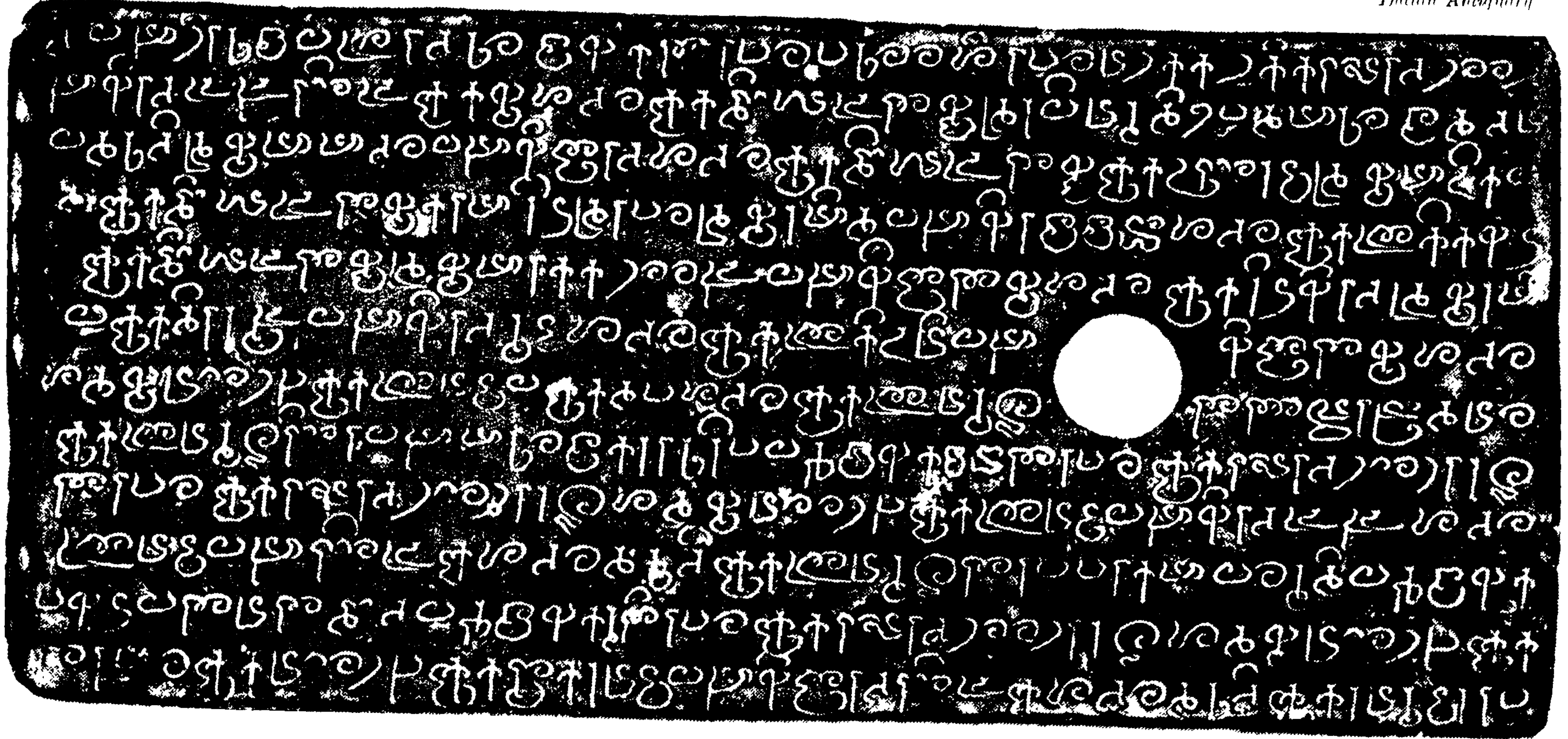
22 The Sanskrit portion has been left out of the translation as it is fragmentary and as what little it contains occurs in the Tamil portion of the document.

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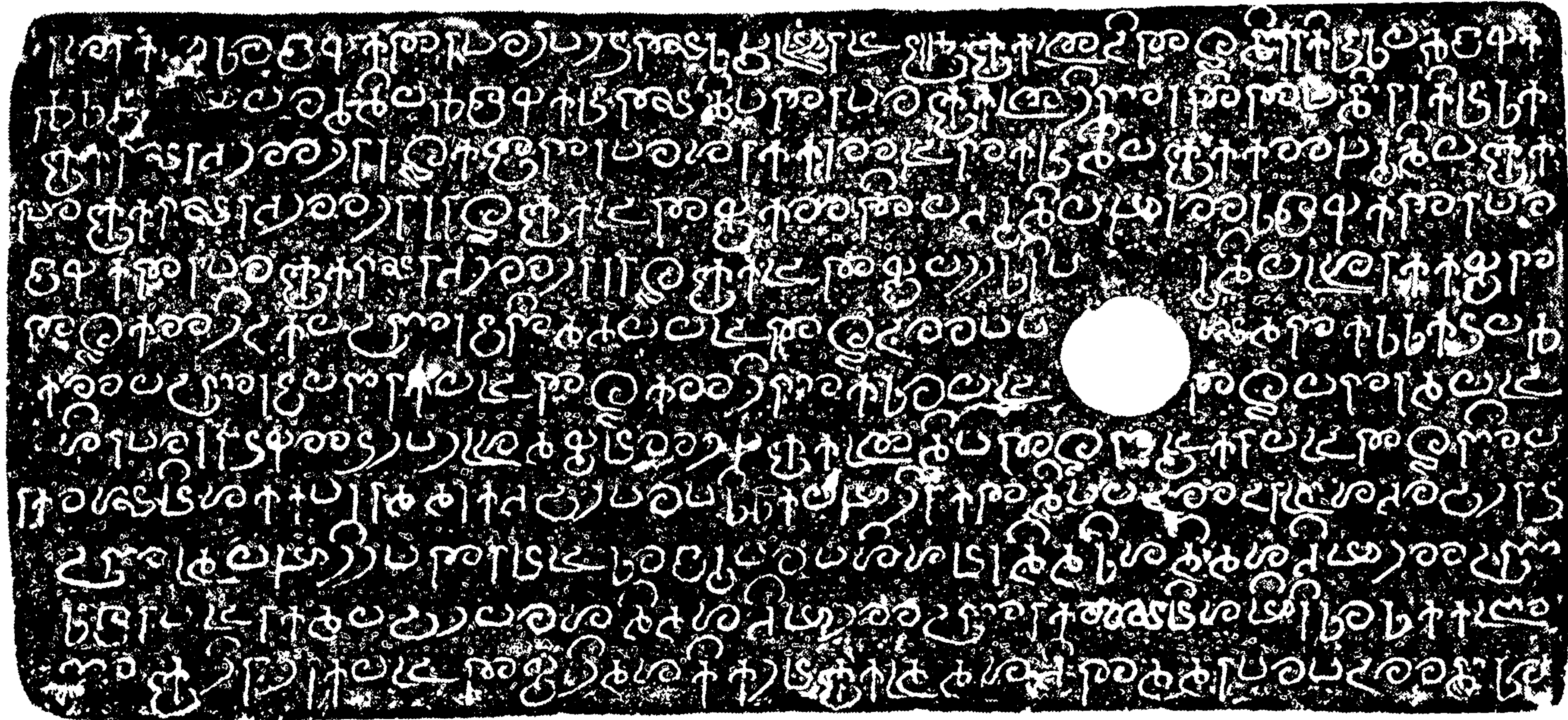


The Copper Plates of Uttama-Choladeva in the Madras Museum

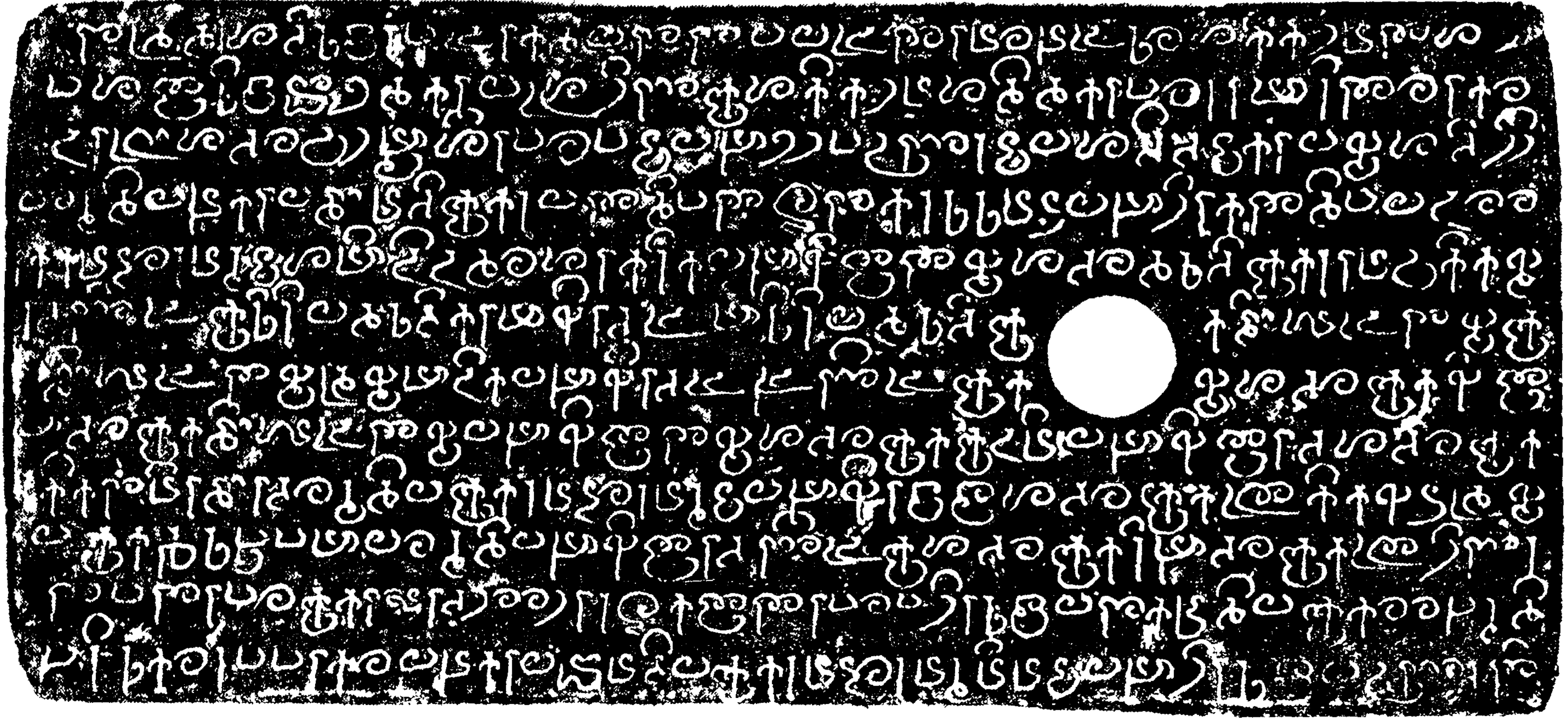
THE COPPER PLATES OF UTTAMA-CHOLADEVA IN THE MADRAS MUSEUM



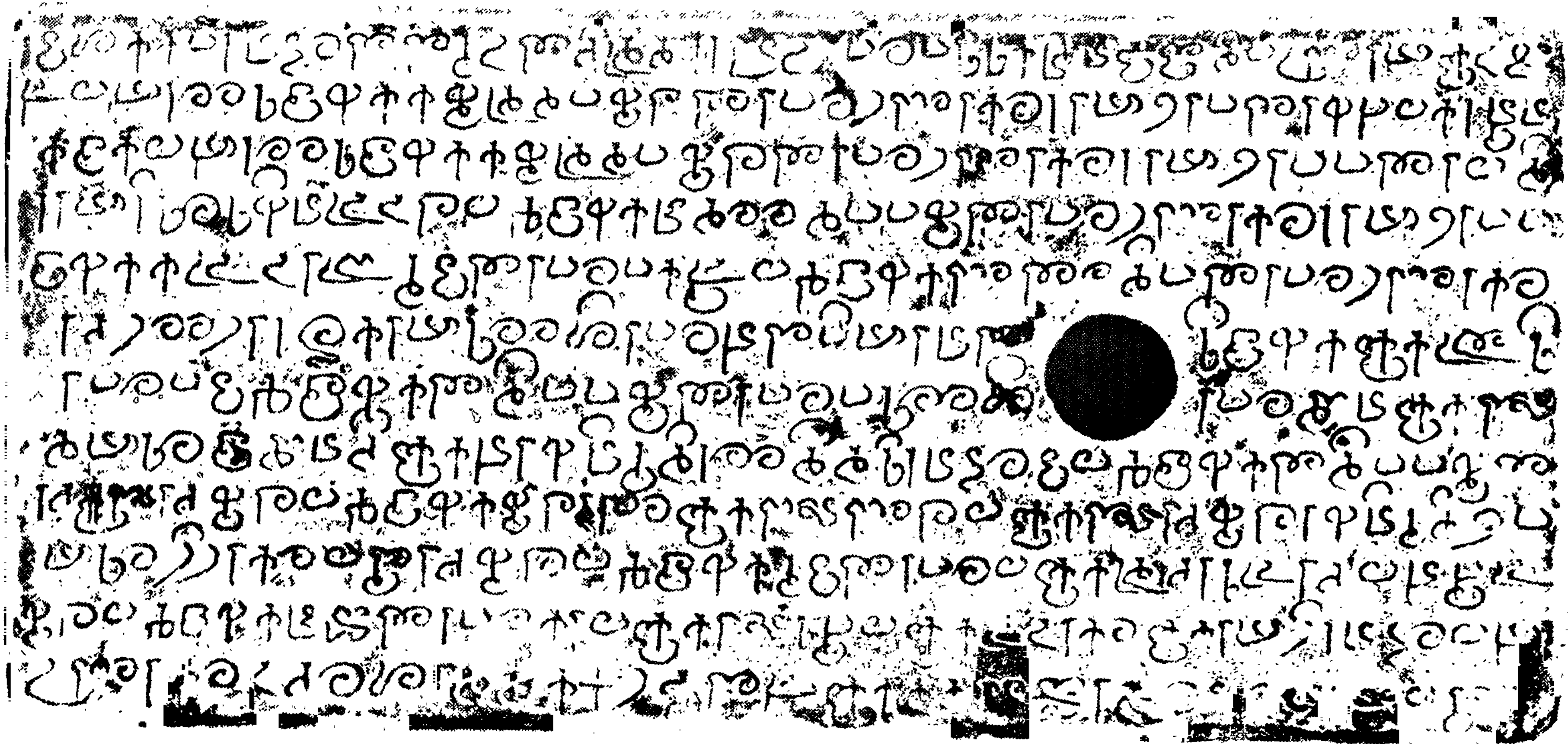
The Copper Plates of Uttama-Choladeva in the Madras Museum



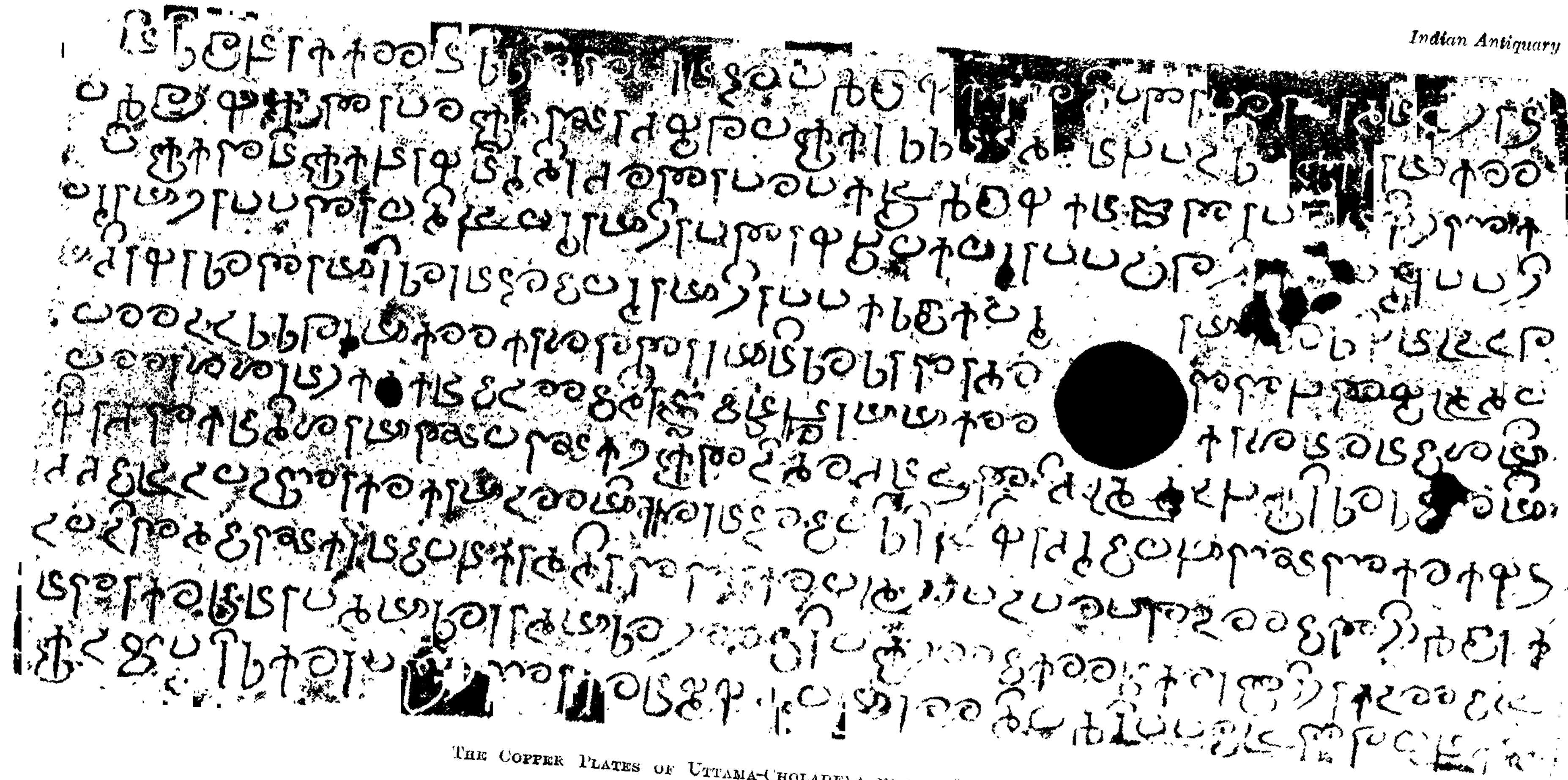
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thus :—" My lord ! [23] The taxes on (articles) weighed in the balance and on (articles) measured by the foot, which belong to the deity who is pleased to stand in the temple of Uragam ; the (lands) that are in the enjoyment of this deity and which were purchased, for this same god, at Kachchippêḍu and Tuṇḍuṇukkachchêri and besides these, the (amounts) that carry interest, were not in past times reduced to writing ; [24] therefore, may it please your majesty to command that these might be reduced to writing and the people of the two *chêris* belonging to Kachchippêḍu be made to look after the business of (of the temple of) this god." The king was pleased to command ; " Be the reducing to writing the (enjoyment of the ) taxes on (article) weighed in the balance and those measured by the foot, the lands purchased and those items that fetch interest, done by yourself. Be it also arranged that the (people of) Kambuḷâṇpâḍi and Adimâṇappâḍi, the two *chêris* belonging to this town (Kachchippêḍu), should scrutinise the business of (the temple of) this god."

This is what was written (as the result) of the prayer of the *adhikârin*, Nakkaṉ Kaṇichchaṉ *alias* Chôḷa-mûvênda-vêḷâr of Sikkar :—

(The following is the account o ) the taxes on (articles) weighed in the balance and measured by the foot and the produce of the lands purchased by the deity (or in the name of the deity) and the interest-bearing amounts of this god, as gathered from stone inscriptions :—

In the twenty-second year of the reign of the king Parakêsarivarman, the gold received by the *sabhas* of Kûram and Ariyar-pperumbâkkam (is) two hundred and fifty *kaḷañjus* of gold ; the paddy, that has to be measured as interest on this amount, is five hundred and fifty *kâḍis* of paddy per annum.

The gold received, according to the stone inscription, by the *sabha* of Uḷaiyûr is fifty *kaḷañjus* ; the paddy, that has to be measured as interest on this sum, is a hundred and fifty *kâḍis* a year.

(In) the ninth year of the (reign of) king Visaiya Kampavarman, the gold received, according to the stone record, by the *sabha* of Oḷakkaippâkkam is twenty-four *kaḷañjus* : the gold, that has to be paid as interest on this amount, is arranged to be one *kaḷañju* and four *mañjâḍis*.

*Lines* 25—65. (This is how the above income was arranged to be spent and accordingly) reduced to writing :—

For rice offerings three times a day, the (quantity of) paddy (sanctioned for this purpose is) three *kuṛuṇis* and six *nâḷis* : for two vegetables three times a day, paddy, three *nâḷis* : and for ghee daily a *uḷakku*, paddy five *nâḷis* : curds at a *uri* each time, three times a day, one *nâḷi* and a *uri*, paddy three *nâḷis* : betel leaves and nuts thrice a day, paddy three *nâḷis* : for the brâhmaṇ who does the *ârâdhana*, (the quantity of) paddy (to be given daily is) a *padakku* ; and for his clothes, five *kaḷañjus* of gold annually ; for the young man (a *brahmachârin*) who does the subordinate services of the temple, paddy (per diem) six *nâḷis* : and for him for clothes, annually a *kaḷañju* of gold : for the temple guard, paddy daily one *kuṛuñi* and for his clothes, two *kaḷañjus* a year ; for two persons who labour in the flower-garden, paddy per diem one *kuṛuñi* and four *nâḷis* and for clothes for these one *kaḷañju* of gold a year : for twelve Saṅkrântis, including the *âchirya-pûja*, fifteen *kaḷañjus* at the rate of a *kaḷañju* and a quarter of gold for each Saṅkrânti : for sandal and incense at the rate of a eighth of a *poṉ* per mensem, for a year one and a half *kaḷañjus* : for bathing the image thrice daily, three-fourths of a *poṉ* per annum ; for musicians (as under :—) ; for the (sounder of the) *takai-ppaṛai*, one man ; the

[23] The word *emperumân* might be taken in the vocative case and translated, as it has been done, as addressing the king, or taken as a noun in apposition with *Urayattu nin; aruḷiyadêvar.*

[24] *nibandham* means not simply *binding*, but also a literary composition. Hence it has been taken as *reducing to writing*.

*maddali*, two ; the *karadikai*, one ; the *tâlam*, one ; the *śekandikai*, one ; the *kâlam*, one ; and the *kai-mani*, one ; thus the (total number of) men (is) nine : for these, including their clothing, annually a hundred and fifty *kâdis* of paddy which is got from the *sabha* of Ulaiyûr, as interest (on the sum they have borrowed from the temple) and the block of land called the Chitravalli-pperuñjeruvu, one of the plots of land purchased from the citizens of Kachchippêdu and the three *tadis* of land in the northern portion of the plot called the Sendaraipottan, watered by the canal coming from the higher sluice ; the northern *cheruvu* in (the plot of) the land called Kâdâdi-kk-undil together with the northern *kundil* of the land which is in the enjoyment of Kônêriyâr and which is watered by the canal issuing from the lower sluice ; (thus making a total of) five *tadi* and in terms of *pattis*, two *pattis* ; (this land), together with the (above mentioned) one hundred and fifty *kâdis* of paddy received as interest, shall be written down in the name of the musicians, nine in number : for those that clean the (the temple precincts), daily three *nâlis* of paddy.

*Lines* 65-72. For the deities on the Karikâla-terri ; for rice offerings thrice a day, at six *nâlis* each time, the quantity of rice (amounts to) a *kuruni* and four *nâlis* daily ; for this, paddy three *kurunis* and six *nâlis* ; for fire-wood, paddy three *nâlis* : for ghee three times a day, one *ulakku* ; paddy for the same five *nâlis* : for the two deities, for two perpetual lamps, ghee at one *uri*, paddy for it, one *kuruni* and four *nâlis* ; for sandal and incense for one year twelve *mañjâdis* at the rate of one *mañjâdi* a month : may this be the written arrangement for these two deities.

*Lines* 72-103. (In) the sixteenth year of (the reign of) the king Parakêsarivarman, the inhabitants of Kambulânpâdi, belonging to this city, of Kachchippêdu, received from (the treasury of) the god, who is pleased to stand in the temple at Ûragam in Kachchippêdu, the sum of seventy-three and a half *kalañjus* of gold : the gold received from the *sabha* of Adimânappâdi is seventy-three and a half *kalañju* of gold : the gold received by the citizens of Kañjagappâdi, thirty-five *kalañjus* : the gold received by the inhabitants of Erruvalichchêri, eighteen *kalañjus* : the total gold (thus lent out on interest is) two hundred *kalañjus*, the total of the interest, per annum on the individual sums making up this two hundred *kalañju* of gold is thirty *kalañjus*. (This amount was) written down for the celebration of a seven days' festival for this god in the month of Chittirai, thus :—for oil, seven *kalañjus* of gold : for (sweet) smelling sandal and flowers for seven days, two *kalañjus* of gold : for the food of the *dêvaradiyâr* who entertain the *ghôshti*, and for their (doing) *pûja* (perhaps to the god of this temple), five *kalañjus* of gold for the seven days : for feeding brâhmans all these seven days, for (the purchasing) paddy then and there, ten *kalañjus* : for the bearers of the palanquin and for the musicians specially come for the occasion, one *kalañju* for the seven days : total gold to be spent on these (the musicians ?) is five *kalañjus* ; the person who carry torches and banners shall be the inhabitants of Kambulânpâdi, Adimânappâdi, Êrruvalichchêri and Kañjagappâdi. In Sôlaniyamam, the *chêri* belonging to this god, the line of the original occupants, Tôlâchcheviyar and Êlâkkaiyar, having become extinct, and since the Êlâkkaiyar were, according to the old arrangement, exempt from all taxes, those that have now come from outside and settled down in this *chêri* are obliged to pay to this god a tax of a *nâli* and a *ulakku* of oil and two *nâlis* of rice per mensem ; besides this, the city shall not gather any other taxes from these people. Those that would receive any other taxes from them, shall make incur all the sin committed between the Ganges and the Kumari. Thus, according to the arrangements made by the inhabitants of this city in the eighteenth year of the reign of the king Parakêsarivarman, who took Madirai and Ilam, this god shall also levy this one tax alone on these people. The people of these (or of this) *chêri* shall keep accounts for this deity. For (the accountant) a *kuruni* of paddy per diem and two *kalañjus* of gold annually shall be paid from the temple treasury. The amount of gold taken by the Sankarappâdis of

Iraṇajayappâḍi, Êkavîrappâḍi and Vâmanappâḍi is twenty *kaḷañjus* : from (the interest on) this amount, the aforesaid *chêris* shall burn a perpetual lamp (during the day) and from the collected from the inhabitants of Sôḷaniyamam, the evening lamp shall be kept up.

*Lines* 104–108. For the two deities of the temple ; for bathing them on the Uttarâyana-Saṅkrânti and Chittirai-vishu, for the carriers of torches and banners and for the *parushai-nâyaṇmârs*, who come to temple, rice one *tûṇi* : for him who arranges the *ghôshṭi*, rice one *tûṇi* and a *padakku* : gold for *pûja*, half a *kaḷañju* and for any other deficiencies, expenditure might be incurred without reference to the written arrangements.

*Lines* 108-117. If any hindrances to the services of the temple occur, they shall be settled by the people of the sixteen *nâḍus* (in assembly). The officer (administering the municipal) affairs of this city, the annually elected members (of the *sabha*) of the city, the inhabitants of Êṟṟuvaḷichchêri Kañjagappâḍi, shall, as soon as the festival comes to an end, audit the accounts of this temple for the year. The people of the abovementioned *chêris* shall appoint the temple guard according to the rules maintained in the temple treasury. The citizens shall, themselves not resolve to tax those that do the business of the temple, those that keep the account and the guard of the temple. If those, that have served in temples already as officiating priests, cannot be obtained (for the *pûja* of the temple), only a brâhmaṇ who has studied the *vêdas* must be appointed (in their place).

*Lines* 117-121. Commanded by these who do the duties of the *adhikârin* in this city, I, Nâṟpatteṇṇâyira-Maṅgalâdittaṉ, the *madhyasthan* of the Iravîrappâḍi, wrote this arrangement on palm-leaves ; this is my signature. The engraver of this *śâsana* is Aṟandâṅgi Pôrmigavîran

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## THE FIGHT AT THE GAUNA OF QUEEN BELA.

BY THE LATE DR. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E., F.B.A.

### Prefatory Note.

[AMONG the papers left behind by the late Dr. William Crooke was a MS. account of part of the *Alhkhand* as heard in a Northern Indian village by Râm-Gharîb Chaube. As any version of this great cycle of legends is of value what Dr. Crooke's agent collected is now published.[1]]

### Text and Translation.

166[2]

Khabareṅ hoî gaîṅ Pâdshâh ko :—" dolâ leai Mahobâ jâi."
Tab bulwâi layo Chaundâ ko aru, lâh kahi Bîr Chauhân.
Came news to the king :—" (Belâ's) palankeen has gone to Mahobâ."
Then he summoned Chaundâ and told the news to the Chauhân hero.

167

Kûdi sawâr bhayo hâthî par, Chaundâ dinho hukm phirâi.
Titanî phauj hatî, Chaundâ kî ginatî meṅ sawâ lâkh jawân.
Chaundâ sprang upon his elephant and sent his orders round.
In Chaundâ's reckoning, his army was one and a quarter *lâkh*[3] of men.

168

Sang Chaundiyâ ne lai lîno aur âgê ko karî payân :
Jahâṅ pai dolâ tho Belâ ko Chaundâ, wahâṅ garâso jâi.
Chaundâ started as the head of his army, and it went forward
And where Bela's palankeen was he surrounded it.

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[1] As this is a poem of considerable length, the rendering of each stanza is given after the text.
[2] The numbering seems to refer to some book.
[3] That is, 125,000.

169

" So sûrmâ jo hai dolâ sang, sanmukh hoe ke deyâ jawâb :—
Chorî karîke tum bhâge hâń, ab tum khabardâr hoe jâi."
" The hero that is with the palankeen, come forth and make answer :—
As thou hast committed theft and run away, thou must now have care."

170

Sunike bâteń yâ Chaundâ kî, tab Lâkhan ne kahi sunâi :—
" Na ham chorî tumhârî kînhî, na girah kâti Pithaurâ kyâr."
Hearing Chaundâ's words, spake Lâkhan :—
" Neither have I committed theft from you, nor have I cut Pithaurâ's waist-band."

171

" Bâr biyâhî Chandele kî dolâ dâye Mahobe jâyan."
Sunike bâten yâ Lâkhan kî, Chaundâ agni jwâl hoe jâiń.
" The girl that was married to the Chandel is going to Mahobâ."
Hearing these words of Lâkhan, Chaundâ became as a flame of fire.

172

" Dolâ Mahobe jân na paihai : mâno kahi Kannauji Râi.
Dolâ dhari dewâ Rânî Belâ ko, apno kûnch jâû karwâi."
" The palankeen shall not go to Mahobâ : mind the word of the King of Kanauj.
Put down Rânî Belâ's palankeen and march you from this place."

173

Tab phir Lâkhan bolan lâge aru Chaundâ se kahî sunâi :—
" Dolâ chhinaiâ maiń nâ dekhoń jo yah dolâ deyâ chhinâi."
Then again began Lâkhan to speak to Chaundâ :—
" The palankeen snatcher I do not see—who this palankeen can snatch from me."

174

Sunike bâteń yâ Lâkhan kî, Chaundâ dinho hukmâ phirâi :—
" Dolâ chhîn leń Lâkhan se ; sab ke mundâ leń kaṭwâi."
Hearing these words of Lâkhan. Chaundâ sent out an order :—
" Take the palankeen from Lâkhan, and cut off their heads."

175

Hukum pâeke tab Chaundâ ke Kshatriń dhare agârî pae :
Khainchî sirohî lai kammar se, dolâ pai chalanî lagî talwâr.
Hearing the orders, Chaundâ's Kshatriyas rushed forward.
Drawing their arms from their waists, they raised the swords to the palankeen.

176

Donoń or ke jhuke sipâhî, sab ke 'mâru, mâru' rat lâgi.
Sher bachâ âs chalai tamanchâ, bhâlâ barchhî chhûtan lâg.
Soldiers on both sides fell upon each other—all with the cry of " kill, kill."
Pistols went off like tigers' cubs,[4] spears and lances began to hurtle.

177

Chalai katîrî Kotâkhânî ; donoń dal ik mil hoe jâiń :
Chalai sirohî Mânâshâhî : ûnâ chalai vilâyat kyâr.
There were Kotâkhânî daggers : and both armies became mixed up.
There were Mânâshâhî swords, and *ûnâs* from foreign lands.

178

Teghâ chatakaiń Bardwân ke katî-katî ; giraiń arekhâ jawân.
Uthaiń kabandh bîr ran khelaiń : ghailâ uthahiń kabâhî-kabâhî.
Bardwân swords clashed together roughly : and beardless youths fell.
Headless men got up and fought in the field, and the wounded got up and fetched sighs.

[4] The meaning is that the pistol bullets were as agile as tigers' cubs.

179

Lâkhan samu hâwaiṅ Kshatrîṅ ko :—" Yâro, sharam tumhâre hâth.
Muharâ mâro tum Chaundâ ko, duharî talabaiṅ deuṅ baṛhâî."
Said Lâkhan to the Kshatriyas : " My friends, my honour is in your hands.
If you slay Chaundâ, I will double your pay."

180

Kanwajwâre man ke bâṛhe, jin nirlobh karî talwar.
Bhaje sipâhî Chaundawâle : tab Chaundâ ne kahi sunâî :—
The men of Kanauj were encouraged, who had used their swords without interest:
Chaundâ's men took to flight : then spake Chaundâ :—

181

" Das das rupîyâ ke châkar hain : nâhaq dariho inheṅ katâî ?
Hamarî tumharî hoe larâî : dekheṅ kahâ karaiṅ Bhagwân."
" These are servants for ten rupees : you are killing them for nothing.
Let the fight be between you and me : let us see what the Lord will do."

182

Lâkhan jawâb dayo Chaundâ ko :—" Nikî kahî, Chaundiyâ Râî.
Chot agmanî Chaundâ korî le, aur mân kî hanse lewâ bujhâî."
Lâkhan made answer to Chaundâ :—" Chaundâ Râî's word is right :
Aim first at my breast, O Chaundâ, and satisfy the desire of your heart."

183

Chaundâ ne tab gurj uthâyo, aur Lâkhan par dayo chalâî.
Gurj kî chot lagî haudâ par ; dhakkâ lagî Kannaujî kyâr.
Then Chaundâ raised his mace and aimed at Lâkhan.
The mace struck the *haudâ* and shook the king of Kanauj [Lâkhan].

184

Dolâ gherî liyâ Chaundâ ne, tab Sayyad ne kahi sunâî :—
" Lâye dharohar jo Kanwaj se, so Dillî men gaî nighâî."
Then Chaundâ surrounded the palankeen, and the Sayyad spoke :—
" What I brought from Kanauj as security, has been robbed in Delhi."

185

Khâi sanâkâyo Sayyad, wah man meṅ lagyo bahut pachhitân.
Sayyad baṛhike gayo Lâkhan teṅ, dekhî chot Kannaujî kyâr.
The Sayyad lost his head, and great remorse was in his mind.
The Sayyad went forwards to Lâkhan and saw the wound of the king of Kanauj.

186

" Kyoṅ kumhilâne, Lâkhan Rânâ? Âo ghâwâ denhâ meṅ nâhiṅ."
Lâkhan jawâb dayo Sayyad se :—" Châchâ, suno hamârî bât."
"Why are you fainting, Lâkhan Rânâ ! You have received no wound."
Lâkhan answered the Sayyad :—" Uncle, hear my words."

187

" Garâî chot karî Chaundâ ne ; lagî ghâwâ kareje mâṅhiṅ."
Lâkhan lalkâro Chaundâ ko :—" Bakleshî, khabandâr jâo."
" Chaunda gave me a deep wound : the wound has reached my heart."
Then Lâkhan shouted to Chaundâ : " Leader, have a care."

188

Taulî ke bhâlâ Lâkhan mâre, laike Ajaipâl ko nâm.
Bhâlâ lâgyo ikdântâ ke, wah gir paryo dharanî bhahrâî.
Weighing his spear well Lâkhan struck, taking the name of Ajaipâl.
The spear struck the one-toothed one, and he fell to the ground at once.

189

Chaundâ bhâjyo ran khetan se ; bhâji phauj Pithaurâ kyâr.
Khabarâṅ hoyâ gâiṅ badshâh ko : murchâ hatyo Chaundiyâ kyâr.
Chaundâ fled from the battlefield : fled the army of king Pithaurâ.
The king heard the news that the enemy had beaten king Chaundâ.

190

Dolâ Lâkhan laye jât haiṅ, rakhî haiṅ nagar Mahobe jâî.
Sunike batiyân dolâ kî, Pirthi gaye sanâkâ khâî.
Lâkhan took the palankeen at once, and placed it in Mahobâ city.
Hearing the story of the palankeen, Prithvi[6] was greatly disturbed.

191

Dhândû Tâhar ko bulwâyo, aur yat bât kahî samujhâî :—
" Nagar Mahobe jo dolâ jâî, tau jag hoe haiṅ hâṅsî hamâr."
He called Dhândû and Tâhar, and spake this word to them :—
" If the palankeen goes to Mahobâ city, then the world will laugh at me."

192

Itanî sunike, tab Tâhar ne lashkar dinho hukmâ phirâî :—
" Mârû dankâ ke bâjat khân, Kshatrîṅ bândhi layo hathiyâr."
Hearing this Tahar sent out orders to the army :—
"As soon as they hear the *mârû* and the drum, the Kshatriyas are to put on their arms."

193

Sûr surmâ hâthîṅ chaṛhî gayâ ; Turkâṅ bhaye ghôrâ aswâr.
Dalganjan par Tâhar charhî gayo ; Dhândû Bhauṅrâ paî aswâr.
Brave mounted-men mounted on elephants, and Turks [Musalmâns] on horses.
Tâhar mounted his [elephant] Dalganjan, and Dhândû on his [horse] Bhauṅrâ.

194

Jujh naqârâ ke bâjat khân, lashkar kûnch dayo karwâî.
Top rahkalâ âge baṛhîge, pîchhe phauj chalî sab jâî.
As soon as the beat of drum has heard, the army was on the march.
Cannon went in front, and behind them all the army.

195

Bajatî jâweṅ ye ran mahuârî, Kshatrî bîr rûp hoe jâîṅ.
Ândhî aisî lashkar âwai, hâhâkâr bîtati jâî.
The more the drums resounded, the more excited became the Kshatriyas.
Like a storm the army came and the people cried out and wept.

196

Sât kos ke chau pherâ meṅ phaujeṅ Prithî kî dikhrâî.
Prithî Râj ne tab lalkâro, dolâ chârî khet rahî jâî.
Prithî's army was seen in a circle of seven *kôs*.
Then Prithî Râj shouted out, while yet the palankeen was four fields off.

197

" Kehî kî mâtâ nâhar jâe ? Kehî Râjpût lâe autâr ?
Kaun kî siṅhinî ko jayo hai dolâ laye Mahobe jâî ? "
" Whose mother brought forth a lion ? Which Râjpût has begotten an heir ?
Who is the son of the lioness that is taking the palankeen to Mahobâ ? "

198

Sunike bâteṅ Prithîrâj kî, tab Lâkhan ne diyâ jawâb :—
" Hamarî mâtâ nâhar jâye : hamare jame kareje bâr."
Hearing the words of Prithî Râj, then Lâkhan made answer :—
" My mother bore a lion ? In my heart doth grow a hair ! "

[6] Prithvi Râj, or Râi Pithaurâ, of Delhi.

199

" Dolâ Mahobe liye jât haiṅ : chorî na karî, Bîr Chauhân."
Itanî sunike Prithîrâj ne phir Lâkhan se kahî sunâî :—
" I am taking the palankeen to Mahobâ. I have committed no theft, O brave Chauhân."
Hearing this Prithî Râj again spake to Lâkhan :—

200

" Kâj tumhâre nâ atkeṅ haiṅ, Lâkhan. Kyoṅ thâno tum rârî ?
Âlhâ Ûdal jo âye haiṅ, khâyo namak Chandêle kyâr."
" Your work is not stopped, Lâkhan. Why do you pick a quarrel ?
If Âlhâ and Ûdal were to come, they have eaten the salt of the Chandelâ king."

201

" Tum kyoṅ âye san jûjhan ko, Lâkhan ? Kahâṅ tumhâro kâm ? "
Sunike bâteṅ Prithirâj ke, tab Lâkhan ne kahî sunâî :—
" Why have you come into this battle, Lâkhan ? What is your business here ? "
Hearing the words of Prithi Râj, spoke Lâkhan :—

202

" Rûthî kî Âlhâ ge Kannauj meṅ : ham ne Râjgîr dae inâm.
Dharm hamâro Âlhâ râkhyo : Gânjar paisâ lâyo ugâh."
In anger [with the Chandels] Âlhâ went to Kannauj : I gave him Râjgîr in reward.
Âlhâ [now] maintains my prestige, he realizes the revenues of Gânjar.

203

" Gangâ kinhî ham Ûdal se pagiyâ palati Banâphar mâth :—
Âlhâ Ûdal jo ran jujhaiṅ : pahile jujhaiṅ Kannaujî Râî."
" Swearing on the Ganges I exchanged turbans with the Banâphar (Ûdal) :—
If Âlhâ or Ûdal fall in the field, the King of Kanauj [*i.e.*, myself, Lâkhan] will fall first."

204

" Sang na chhoṛaiṅ ham Ûdal ko ; tum sunî lewâ, dhanî Chauhân."
Sunike bâten yâ Lâkhan kî, Pirthî rahe krodh meṅ chhâî.
" I will never give up Ûdal : hear me, thou wealthy Chauhân."
Hearing the words of Lâkhan, Prithî was filled with wrath.

205

Prithîrâj ne tab lalkâro : " Tâhar nâhar, bât unâû.
Topaiṅ lagâî dewâ marchan pai, in pâjiṅ ko dewa uṛâî."
Then shouted Prithî Râj : " Tâhar, thou lion, make true the words [of Lâkhan]
Set cannon on the entrenchments and blow these scoundrels away."

206

Itanî sunike tab Tâhar ne topaiṅ âge daî baṛhâî.
Hukmâṅ daî dayo khalassîṅ koṅ, topâṅ batti[6] dewâ lagâî.
Hearing this Tâhar ordered the cannon to go forward.
And ordered the gunners to put a light to the guns.

207

Donoṅ or ke chale khalassî : topâṅ battî upar pahunche jâî.
Battî daî-daî un topâṅ men, dhuâna rahyo katak meṅ chhâî.
On both sides went the gunners and reached the cannon.
They lighted and the smoke of the cannon covered the army.

[6] The same as *palitâ*.

208

Golâ-olâ ke sam tuṭapîṅ : golî Mâghâ bund arrâî.
Golâ lagâîṅ jin hâthîṅ ko mânoṅ choṛâ sendhî daî joî.
Balls fell like hail and bullets like rain in Mâgh.
When the elephants received the balls it was as if a thief had made holes in them.

209

Bamb to golâ jin ko lâgai, hâthî chig gharî ke rahî jâîṅ.
Golâ lâgai jin Kshatrîṅ ke, so lattâ se jâîṅ uṛâî.
If a ball struck an elephant he expired roaring in the morning.
If a ball struck a Kshatriya he was blown away like a rag.

210

Chhotî golî ke lâgat khân Kshatrî giraiṅ karantâ khâîṅ.
Ek pahar bhar golâ barse topeṅ ; lâl baran hoiyâ jâîṅ.
When bullets struck the Kshatriyas, they fell down rolling about.
For a whole watch the guns kept shooting balls and became red hot.

211

Topaiṅ chhaṛî daî Kshatrîṅ ne ; tit tupak kî mâraiṅ mâr.
Tîran mâraiṅ je kamnaitâ : golîṅ mâraiṅ Turk sawâr.
The Kshatriyas deserted the cannon and shot with bows and arrows.
Those who knew the work shot with arrows : the Turk horsemen shot with bullets.

212

Bholâ barchhî chhûtan lâgîṅ ; ûpar karâbin kî mâr.
Kaibar lâgai jin Kshatrîṅ ke sûdho nikarî âî wah par.
Spears and lances began to be let loose, and bullets out of blunderbusses.
Kshatriyas struck by *kaibars* were pierced through their bodies.

213

Chhotî golî jiu ke lâgai chakkar kâti giraiṅ arrâî.
Yahî laṛâî pacchhe pari gaî, Kshatrîṅ dharî agârî pâî.
Those hit by bullets fell rolling in circles.
This kind of fighting went on in the rear, while the Kshatriyas went forward.

214

Deṛh qadam jab arsâ rahiyo jawânâṅ khainchî lâî talwâr.
'Khaṭ-khaṭ' teghâ bâjan lâge ; bolai 'chhapak chhapak' talwâr.
When only a step and a half remained for *arsâ*, brave men drew their sword.
The swords began to sing '*khaṭ-khaṭ*' and the scimitars went *chapak chapak*.

215

Ûnâ chatakaiṅ wah lashkar men : katî-katî giraiṅ sûr sardâr.
Ulhaiṅ kabandh bîr ran khelaiṅ : ghahiâ uthaiṅ kabâhî-kabâhî.
Ûnâ was fighting in that army : warriors and chiefs fell rolling about.
Headless heroes got up and fought in the field and wounded men got up sighing.

216

'Pyâs pyâs' sab ko rat lâgî ran meṅ : pânî nâhin dekhâî.
Hâhâkâr paryo lashkar meṅ murdâṅ ko maidân dekhâî.
'Thirst, thirst' cried out all in the field, but saw no water.
Confusion fell upon the army and the plain seemed to be of the dead.[7]

[7] The MS leaves off here with a note "to be continued," but no continuation has been found.

# BOOK-NOTICE.

L'HISTOIRE DES IDÉES THÉOSOPHIQUES DANS L'INDE; LA THÉOSOPHIE BOUDDHIQUE. By PAUL OLTRAMARE; Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome XXXI. Paul Geuthner. Paris, 1923.

This work, which comprises more than 520 pages, is concerned with certain important aspects of the Buddhist faith. The author, whose knowledge of Buddhist literature is profound, sets himself to determine the conditions, external and internal, in which the key doctrines of Buddhism exercised their influence on the mind of man; in what manner these controlling ideas or doctrines are inter-related; what effect they have produced on the conduct of individuals and on the general community; how they have been transformed by the operation of pure thought; how they have been altered by contact with other schools of religious thought; and to what excesses in theory and practice they have sometimes led. The author is, therefore, concerned with the Buddha and the *Saṁgha* only in so far as the personality of the one and the organization of the other had a direct influence upon the direction of the spiritual efforts of past ages. He lays stress in his earlier pages upon the lay character of the Buddha's teaching, and upon the fact that the Teacher, whom it has often been the practice to represent as an ascetic, divorced from everything external and profane, was on the contrary possessed of a profound sense of nature, and of the value of family and social life. His method of preaching must have been singularly impressive, for he not only organized a church, but also founded a tradition of teaching, furnishing by his own sermons and exhortations a pattern to which later his disciples found it imperative to conform.

Buddhism shattered the fundamental opposition between the sacred and the profane, and abolished the idea that certain individuals are necessarily set apart from the general body of men, owing to their possession of some mysterious inherent virtue. The householder and the monk can have an equal share of piety, though their methods of practising it may differ. This mutual blending of everyday life and religious feeling, which Buddhism taught, marked a new epoch in the history of humanity; and in offering a position in his church to the lay devotee of both sexes, the Buddha assured the success of the institution which he founded. It must not, however, be forgotten that his modification was merely an extension of a line of evolution which commences from the *Upanishads*, and that therefore the Buddha was the beneficiary, rather than the originator, of a change which had its roots in a more distant past. The Jain church also has had its *upâsaka*, and has indeed tried to link them to itself by closer bonds than those which united the householder with the *bhikshu* in Buddhism. But Mahâvîra subordina[illegible] element to the religious, instead of co-ordinating them, and thereby robbed it of its freedom of action. He was clearly far less emancipated than the Buddha from the ancient superstition, which ascribed a separate spiritual worth to exterior forms and ceremonies. In the history of Buddhism it is the *Saṁgha* which has been the stable element; it has maintained orthodoxy both in belief and practice. The lay brethren were more open to the influence of their surroundings, more mobile, less attached to tradition. The monks are purer, but more rigid. The lay congregation is more alive; but the novelties which creep in under their influence are occasionally opposed violently to the basic principles of the Faith. The influence of the lay brother increased, as time went on. It was noticeable in some sections of the original church; it was still more noticeable in the Buddhism of the middle ages. It is supreme to day in Nepal, where preaching and external activities are carried on by married priests, that is to say, by householders, and where the monks live in their retreats, completely cut off from all relations with the outside world.

At the close of a long and valuable chapter on the landmarks in the literary history of the Buddhistic doctrine, M. Oltramare raises the question as to how and why the religion founded by Gautama disappeared slowly, but almost wholly, from the land of its origin, after achieving at the outset such a phenomenal success. The Buddhists themselves state that their religion suffered severely from the attacks of Kumarila in the 7th century and of Śaṅkara at the beginning of the 9th, and certain facts related by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang indicate that Brahman hatred of a faith, which had so often supplanted them in the favour of the powerful and ruling classes, was intense and prolonged. Even so, instances of violence were only sporadic, and there were no persecutions, properly so-called, on the part of the great rulers. Buddhism, indeed, suffered far more from Islam, which destroyed its monasteries wholesale. Yet here again the Muhammadan invasions merely hastened the completion of a religious dissolution, which had commenced long previously. What really ruined Buddhism was its ever increasing affinity to Hindu cults, and in particular to the cult of Śiva. The Chinese pilgrims give numerous examples of the penetration of pagan ideas, even in the monasteries most renowned for their orthodoxy. It was especially through the *Mahâyâna* that Buddhism became infected with the morbid germs that led to its ultimate decay. The followers of the *Hînâyâna* declared openly that the monks of Nalanda hardly differed at all from Śaiva friars. Employing,

as it did, more and more the same methods, adoring divinities of the same class and sometimes the selfsame gods, Buddhism was bound to be absorbed by Hinduism. The contact with the cult of Śiva transformed the *Mahâyâna* into an esoteric doctrine replete with Tantric ideas and mysticism. This was the last *avatâra* of Buddhism, which practically ceased to exist in India from the 11th century.

The third section of M. Oltramare's treatise is devoted to a discussion of the place occupied by Buddhism in the history of Indian Theosophy, and in the third chapter of that section he deals with the points of resemblance and difference between that religion and the other chief religious systems of India. The points of contact are many, but are perhaps less remarkable than those which differentiate the doctrine of the Buddha from other creeds.

First and foremost, Buddhism proclaimed the right and the duty of the individual man. It cast aside traditional ritual and established in its place a personal private faith. To acquire knowledge of the Truth by oneself and then teach it to others—that is what constitutes *âtmavidyâ*, the first of the five heads of knowledge possessed by the *Bodhisattva*.

Secondly, as it has its seat in the heart of the individual man, Buddhism is eminently a psychological faith. Inasmuch as all religious acts and religious sentiment act directly on the inner consciousness of man, they are in effect psychological. Equally so is the benefit which accrues from adoration of the Buddha: for enlightened Buddhists know that this cult is a source of purifying emotion for him who follows it. It confirms the wisdom of the individual mind, assists the devout to destroy the germs of sin within him, and, like faith, it leads directly to Vision or Illumination. "Honour and respect the Buddha, and the mysteries of the Law will be made plain to ye."

Thirdly, Buddhism broke down the ancient barriers between the sacred and profane, and denied the division of society into two rigid groups, or the division of places into two categories. If reverence is offered to a *bhikshu*, declared the Buddha, he owes it to ideas associated with the garment he wears, and not to any personal sanctification or consecration. One's veneration of *stupas* and *chaityas* arises from their being mementos of mighty acts or from their serving as the casket of precious relics; but these sanctuaries are so far from being "sacred," that all the world may freely enter them. There was no trace of "fetichism" in the doctrine preached by the Buddha, and so far as the prohibitions enunciated by Buddhism in respect of food, etc., are concerned, they were manifestly dictated, not by superstitious fears and notions of *tâbu*, but solely by a wish that the *Saṁgha* should accommodate itself to the social views and prejudices of its age. Apart from matters of social hygiene and decency, the discipline recommended by the Buddhist scriptures is purely a moral discipline, and the pollution which they seek to wipe away is that of the heart. "That which is impure is murder, theft, lying, cheating, light words, and avarice—not the food that one eats." Rules are not an end in themselves, but only the means to the one great end—Salvation. Lastly, according to Buddhism the whole soul and life of a man must be devoted to the faith. Brahmanism had regulated mortal life by successive stages—the period of tutelage, the householder's life, the ascetic stage in the forest, and finally the stage of *sanyâs*—abandonment of all earthly ties. The Buddha on the other hand realized how brief and fragile a thing is life: no man can count on the morrow. Therefore he preached the need of immediate renunciation for them that thirst for salvation, sweeping aside the artificial distinctions allowed by Hinduism. The forest? the *Bodhisattva* can truly dwell there by shaping his thoughts to accord with the spirit of the true *vânaprastha*. There must be no delay, for "the slothful man who, in the days of his vigorous youth, does not arise at the right moment, will never find the path of wisdom." There must be no division of a man's spiritual energy; he must give himself wholly to his task—the task of ensuring his own salvation.

In a final brief chapter the author sums up the lesson of Buddhism, as he understands it, after elaborate and painstaking research. I cannot do better than conclude this indifferent review of a very able work by translating, as best I can, the final paragraph. "Must one assume that humanity would be wise to sit at the feet of the ancient Hindu sage? Many persons in Europe and America think so. It may therefore be worth while to state in a few words why neither the manner in which Buddhism has approached the problem of man's destiny nor the solution which it offers of that problem can really satisfy us. It is impossible for us to embrace a doctrine which puts forward as the goal of life an intellectual and spiritual immobility, and as its ideal, a wisdom which sits apart and gazes from afar upon the active struggles of human existence. Buddhism brings happiness to those who follow it with sincerity, because it teaches them to curb their desires and seek their satisfaction in the narrow sphere of retirement and contemplation. But moral restlessness, spiritual unrest, the desire for something better, the thirst for a fuller and deeper experience of what Life signifies—these possess far greater beauty. The ideal of the Buddhist is a terrible mutilation of the Man."

S. M. EDWARDES

# REMARKS ON THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.
*Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from A.D.* 1894 *to* 1903.

(*Continued from page* 55.)

IV.

(*b*) *Myths and Legends.*

**Mr. Brown's Philosophy of Social Value Developed.**

I now come to the last part of the argument in Mr. Brown's book: his interpretation of the Andamanese Myths and Legends. It becomes closer and more complicated than previously and frankly philosophical. He tells us that he is dealing with the Myths and Legends "in a similar manner" with the more important parts of the ritual and ceremonial, and he commences by laying down his procedure (p. 330):

> "I propose to explain, not how the legends arose, but what they mean; what part they play at the present time in the mental life of the Andaman Islander. Customs that seem at first sight meaningless and ridiculous have been shown to fulfil most important functions in the social economy, and similarly I hope to prove that the tales . . . . are the means by which the Andamanese express and systematise their fundamental notions of life and nature and the sentiments attaching to those notions."

Mr. Brown then starts straight off (pp. 330 ff.) on an Akar-Bale (Balawa) story.

**The Night, the Day and the Cicada.**

In this story the origin of the Night and the Day depends on their connection with the Cicada or cricket (p. 330): "this species of Cicada, of which I do not know the scientific name, always makes a noise ('songs' as the natives say) during the short interval of twilight between sunset and darkness and between dawn and sunrise." Upon this Mr. Brown remarks (p. 331):

> "The song of the Cicada, as the day gives place to night and as night changes to day is one of the most familiar of all natural phenomena of the Andamanese. Another fact that is made use of in the Legend is that if one of these insects be crushed as was the Cicada of the story, or even if it be taken up in the hand, it will utter its shrill and plaintive note, not unlike the cry of a human being in pain. Finally, to understand the tale, it is necessary to remember that in all the tribes of the Great Andaman division there is a prohibition against killing the Cicada."

To let the reader follow the explanation of the story and Mr. Brown's comments thereon I repeat it here as told to Mr. Brown: (p. 214):—

> "Da Tengat [Sir (?) Spider] lived at Golugma Bud. He went fishing one day and got only one small fish of the kind called *chelau* (? *Glyphidodon Sordidus*). He turned to go home, and as he went he shot his arrows before him into the jungle [a very unusual act.] Then he went after them to find them again. As he went he spoke to the fruits of the jungle, asking them their names. In those days the ancestors did not know the names of the fruits and the trees. First he asked the *puiam*, and then the *guluba*, and then the *chakli*, but none of them replied. Then he found his first arrow. It was stuck fast in a big yam (*gono*). He took the arrow and said to the yam: 'what is your name?' At first the yam did not answer. Tengat turned to go away. He had gone a few steps, when the yam called him back, saying 'my name is Gono.' Tengat replied: 'Oh! I didn't know. Why didn't you say so before?' He dug up the yam, which was a very big one. He went off to look for his second arrow. As he went he spoke to the stones in the jungle, asking their names, but none of them replied. Then he found his second arrow fixed in a large lump of resin (*tug*). He took the arrow, and as he was going away the resin [which the Andamanese regard as a 'stone'] called him back, saying 'Here, my name is Tug: you can take me along with you.' So Tengat took the resin. Then Tengat forward a cicada (*rita*) and he took that also. When Tengat got to the hut (*bud*), every one came to look at the things he had brought. He showed them the yam. He told them its name and showed them how to cook it. This was the first time that the ancestors ate *gono*. Then Tengat took in his hand the Cicada and squashed it between his palms. As he killed

it the Cicada uttered its cry and the whole world became dark. When the people saw that it was dark they tried to bring back the daylight. Tengat took some of the resin and made torches. He taught the people how to dance and sing. When Da Kongoro (Sir Ant) sang a song, the day came back. After that the day and night came alternately."

Next Mr. Brown says that the skeleton of the Legend, (p. 331) is this : " one of the ancestors killed a Cicada (a forbidden act), the Cicada uttered its cry (as it does when hurt), and as a result, darkness covered the world (as it always does when the Cicada sings in the evening). Leaving aside, for the present, the rest of the story, we may try to make clear to ourselves just what this part of it expresses."

Then he goes on (p. 331) : " the explanation that I propose is to the effect that the Legend is simply an expression or a statement of the *social value* of the phenomenon of the alternation of day and night."

He next remarks that " the one outstanding feature of the first importance is that the day is the time of social activity, whereas the night is a period when the society is, as a rule, not active ; " and that " one of the most important elements in the mental complex revealed by a study of the ceremonial is the recognition of the fact that it is on the activity of the society that the individual depends for his security and well-being." Also (p. 332) : " it is the inevitable result of this that the daytime, when the society is active, should be felt to be a period of comparative security, while the night, when all social activity ceases, should be a period of comparative insecurity."

Mr. Brown's next note is (p. 332) : " the Andaman Islander, like many other savages, is afraid of the dark . . . . But I would hold that in the Andaman Islanders and probably in other savages, the fear of darkness, of night, is a secondary induced feeling, not by any means instinctive, and is in a large part due to the social sentiments, to the fact that at night the social life ceases . . . . Because any condition of the individual in which he is withdrawn from active participation in the common life is regarded as one of danger from magico-religious forces antagonistic to the society."

Having read all this into the tale Mr. Brown says (p. 332) : " the interpretation that I would offer of the Akar-Bale [Balawa] Legend is that it is an expression of these sentiments relating to the night ; an expression that takes advantage of the connection between the song, the Cicada and the alternation of the night and day . . . . The necessity of this particular form must be accepted as a postulate." After this he proceeds (p. 333) to show at length " that the Legend does express the *social value* of Night."

**Prohibitions as Precautions.**

Mr. Brown harks back, however, for a moment to discuss the fear of night in a paragraph of the first importance to his general argument. He says (p. 333) :

> " The fear of night, or rather, since that fear is rarely more than potential, the feeling that night is a time of insecurity, is part of the general attitude of fear or respect towards the forces of nature that are believed to be possible sources of danger to the society. Now, it has been shown that this particular attitude towards nature finds expression in ritual prohibitions of various kinds. For instance, the Andaman Islander translates his feeling of the *social value* of food substances into the belief that such things must be treated with ritual precautions."

And then he goes on (p. 334) with the argument :

> " Applying this to the case before us, we must first recognise that to the Andaman Islander the alternation of the day and night and the singing of the Cicada are not separate phenomena, but are two parts or aspects of one and the same recurring event. Now, the night and day are things that cannot be handled, *i.e.*, cannot be immediately subject to the actions of human beings, while the Cicada can be handled. Hence it is to the Cicada that the need of precaution is referred. Any interference with the Cicada is forbidden, and this prohibition serves as a mark or expression of the *social*

*value* of that alternation of night and day with which the Cicada is so intimately associated. The Legend of the Akar-Bale [Balawa] Tribe is simply an elaboration of this theme."

### The Invention of Singing and Dancing.

Mr. Brown proceeds to examine other aspects of the Legend (p. 334): "the Akar-Bale story, besides giving an account of the origin of night, relates the invention of singing and dancing," which to the Andamanese "are merely two aspects of one and the same activity . . . . Dancing, except on a few special ceremonial occasions, always takes place at night." This is because of the belief that "dancing and singing are means by which the evil influence of darkness can be overcome. . . . . as they possess magical efficacy against the dangers prevalent at night." On this he says (p. 335): "this relation between the (*negative*) *social value* of night and the (*positive*) *social value* of dancing and singing is simply and clearly expressed in the Legend." It was the "singing" of the Cicada that produced the darkness, and it was the singing and dancing afterwards that produced the day, "so effectual was the means adopted of neutralising the evils of darkness that finally resulted in the return of the daylight in which ordinary social life is possible."

To this Mr. Brown adds (p. 335): "the reference to the resin in the Legend can be easily understood. The Andamanese use resin to provide the light by which they dance, as well as for torches for fishing on dark nights . . . . Thus the *social value* of resin is that it affords a means of neutralising to a certain extent the effects of darkness."

Then he remarks (p. 335): "one of the ancestors, under the influence of an anti-social passion, killed a Cicada, which uttered its cry, and thereupon the world was covered with darkness . . . . but men have learnt how to use resin for artificial light, and how to remedy the effects of darkness by dancing and singing."

Lastly, Mr. Brown comes to the conclusion (p. 335) that the 'Legend of the Night, the Day and the Cicada' is this :—

> "Simply the expression in a particular form of the relation between the Society and a certain natural phenomenon in terms of what have been called *social values*. We find expressed the social values of night and of resin and dancing. It may be noted that the Legend also gives a special social value to the ancestors, different from and greater than that of men or women at the present day. The Ancestors were able to do many things that men cannot do now: they were able to affect the processes of nature in a way that is no longer possible."

### The Discovery of the Yam.

Mr. Brown passes on (p. 336) to discuss the discovery of the yam, a minor point in the Legend, which Mr. Man relates, (see p. 211 of Brown), as being the result of a chance shot with an arrow. Mr. Brown thinks it likely to be really a separate story brought into the present tale, as there is the shooting of an arrow in both. In this story, by chance shots with three arrows Da Tengat discovered new objects of three different kinds,—animal (cicada), vegetable (yam), mineral (resin, which to the Andamanese is a 'stone'). On this fact, Mr. Brown observes (p. 337): "in common with other primitive peoples, the Andaman Islanders regard what we call luck or chance as due to the action of the magical powers possessed by objects and by human beings."

### The Killing of the Cicada.

And then, although he feels the points not to be plain in the Legend, Mr. Brown says (p. 337): "I think we must take it that Da Tengat was disgusted at his lack of success in fishing . . . . His shooting of the arrows must be regarded, I think, as the result of his anger." In his irritation "he crushed the Cicada, thus bringing darkness on the world." Then Mr. Brown remarks: "it is a principle of the Legends that evil results follow from evil action . . . . (p. 338). It was the wickedness of the ancestor in giving way to his

feeling of irritation that led to the social disaster" of the coming of the night. Inversely it was "through the combined effort of the ancestors joining in a harmonious action (singing and dancing) that the day was brought back."

### Major and Minor Motives in Legends.

Mr. Brown here breaks off (pp. 339-340) to lay down a principle of interpretation. He begins by saying that he had "drawn a distinction between what may be called major and minor motives in the story. The validity of the interpretation of the legends offered in this chapter depends on the validity of this distinction, and it is therefore important to provide a method by which we separate major from minor motives. This can only be done when there are several versions of the same legend."

And then he goes on to say (p. 339): "if we compare the Akar-Bale [Balawa] Legend with the Aka-Bea version recorded by Mr. Man, we see that they have in common:

(1) the explanation of the origin of night as due to the breaking of a rule:

(2) the training back of the trouble to the anti-social passion of anger on the part of an ancestor:

(3) the account of the origin of dancing and singing as a means of neutralising the effects of darkness.

All other elements of the story are different in the two stories . . . . Both the Legends express the *social value* of night, and they both express it in very much the same way."

### Beliefs about the Moon: Personification.

Here Mr. Brown says, (p. 340): "an exactly parallel explanation can be given of the Andaman notions relating to the Moon. The *social value* of moonlight is due to the fact that it enables the natives to fish and catch turtle and dugong by night. A clear moonlight night affords the best opportunity for harpooning dugong," the most valued of all food. "Therefore, we may say that during the second quarter the Moon gives valuable help to the natives, but during the third quarter withdraws that help."

Then he proceeds to say (pp. 340-341):

"At the beginning of the third quarter the Moon rises in the evening with a ruddy hue. The natives explain this red and swollen appearance by saying that the Moon is angry. When a man does something that hurts or damages another it is generally (in Andamanese life) because he is angry. So to say that the Moon is angry is equivalent to saying that he is damaging the society by withdrawing the light by which for the past week or so they have been able to capture fish and turtle. The phenomena of the change of the Moon, in so far as they affect the social life, are represented as if they were the actions of a human being. We may describe this briefly by saying that the moon is personified."

But (p. 341): "Even the Moon is not expected to be angry without a cause. The natives say that the anger is due to some bright light having been visible at the time the Moon rises. The personification is thus further elaborated. The moon gives the light by which fishing and turtle hunting at night are possible. The light has a positive *social value* and its withdrawal is an evil." The Moon is therefore regarded as jealous of artificial light, and by that belief "the value of the moonlight is recognised." The beliefs about the Moon and the Legend of the Night in fact (p. 341) "both express, in accordance with the same psychological laws, the *social values* of natural phenomena."

### The Fire Legend.

Mr. Brown treats (pp. 341 ff.) the Fire Legend in a different manner:

"I will next consider not a single legend but a number of different stories, running through all of which we can find a single major motive. I have recorded three legends

which relate, with some differences of detail, how in the beginning the ancestors had no fire, how fire was introduced by one of them, and how many of them, being burnt and frightened, were turned into animals of different kinds."

And then remarks (p. 342) : "the story serves as an explanation of the markings on birds and fishes, there being where the ancestor who became the species was burnt by the fire."

Mr. Brown then lays down (p. 342) that "the clue to the true interpretation of the three stories [above mentioned] must be sought in the *social value* of Fire : " a proposition which he then sets out prove (pp. 342 ff.).

"We may say, in a word, that it is the possession of fire that makes social life (as the Andamanese know it) possible . . . . Amongst all the creatures that inhabit the world, man is the only one that possesses and makes use of fire. Here, then, is the fundamental notion that is expressed in these Legends. At first, so the story runs, animals and human beings were one, and were not distinguished. Then came the discovery of fire . . . . (p. 343). It is the possession of the fire that makes human beings what they are, that makes life as they live it possible. It is equally (according to the Legend) the lack of fire, or the lack of the ability to make use of fire, that makes the animals what they are, that cuts them off from participation in human life."

Upon this Mr. Brown argues (p. 343) :

"The three stories considered above contain three motives :

(*i*) They express the *social value* of fire, by making the foundation of human society (through the differentiation of men and animals) depend on the discovery of fire.

(*ii*) They express a peculiar notion as to the relation of the human species to the other animals which is found in the Legends.

(*iii*) They give a legendary explanation of some of the characteristics of animals, such as the bright colours of certain birds and fishes."

And then he argues (p. 343) that "these same motives are present in many of the Legends relating to the origin of fire."

**The Flood Myth.**

Further consideration of the Fire Legends leads Mr. Brown to the Andamanese stories about the Flood. He commences with a remarkable statement (p. 344) :

"We have seen that one explanation (in the mythological sense) of how the birds arose is that they were ancestors who fled from the fire. There are other stories that give a different account and relate that the animals came into existence through a great flood or storm that overwhelmed the ancestors. Both of these Legends are to be found in the same tribes. Their incompatibility does not prevent them from being both equally accepted. If it can be shown that the story of the flood is simply an alternative method of expressing the same set of representations that underlie the story of the origin of the animals through the discovery of fire, the interpretation of the latter will be in some degree confirmed."

And then Mr. Brown proceeds (p. 344) :

"I think that it was because some of the ancestors kept their fire alight that they remained human, while those who lost their fire were turned into animals. If many personal impressions are of any value, this is really the idea that does underlie the Legend in the native mind. Thus it would appear that this version of the Flood myth is simply a reversal of the Fire Legend previously considered. They both express the same thing in different ways. They both make the possession of fire the thing on which social (*i.e.*, human) life depend, the fundamental difference between man and animals."

Mr. Brown next (pp. 344-345) disagrees with Mr. Man's account, who "seems to have come to the conclusion that there were two floods,"—an idea which interferes with Mr. Brown's argument. But passing this by, it must be noted that Mr. Brown then says ; p. 345 :

"On the interpretation here suggested the major motives of the Flood Myth are

(1) the *social value* of fire as expressed by making the difference between man and animals depend on its possession by the former and not by the latter :

(2) the notion of the animals as having once been one with the ancestors. These two motives are both present in the Legends of the origin of fire that were previously considered."

### The Three Worlds.

Mr. Brown now becomes ingenious (pp. 346-347) :

"In a number of their Legends it is stated that the ancestors saved themselves by climbing up into a tall tree and into the trees. This is to be explained by the fact that the birds all live up in the trees, and many of them can never be seen save overhead. The top of the forest is where the birds live : it is their world, raised above the world of men and women. The flood drove the inhabitants to the tops of the trees. The birds remained there and only the human beings came down again . . . . (p. 347). This is, I think, what the Legend really means. The story of the flood gives a picture of a three-fold world . . . . For the natives of the [Andaman] Islands the top of the forest is an alien world into which they can only penetrate with extreme difficulty by climbing, and with the life of which they have little to do. Similarly the waters of the sea are another world into which they can only penetrate for a few moments at a time by diving."

Mr. Brown then carries the idea further (p. 347) : "the same three-fold division of the world is seen in the beliefs about the three kinds of spirits, those of the forest, those of the sea, and the Morua who, while spoken of as spirits of the sky, are often thought of as living in the tops of the tall trees." But he is aware that here he is in a difficulty (p. 347) : "it may be said that, on this view, no allowance is made for the existence of terrestrial animals." This he skims over by saying : "That is true, but it must be remembered that there are very few such animals in the Andamans."

### The Origin of Animals.

Mr. Brown is thus led on to examine "the story of the Origin of Animals in the Akar-Bale (Balawa) Tribe." Comparing the variants of the tale he says (p. 349) :

"The main purpose of the story is to relate how a great storm or cyclone visited the island in the times of the ancestors and turned many of them into animals. The storm was brought about by the action of one of the ancestors, who in anger did some of the things that are known to anger Puluga and cause a storm . . . . The purpose of the elements of the Legend is to explain how the great flood came about, by tracing it to the anti-social action of some or more of the ancestors, just as the night is supposed to have been produced by an ancestor who performed a forbidden action . . . . The origin of the catastrophe that separated the once united ancestors into animals and human beings is thus traced to the fact that they could not live together socially and in harmony."

After reasoning at some length on these general statements, Mr. Brown (p. 350) draws the moral from the animals legends thus : "human society is only possible if personal anger be subordinated to the need of good order : the animals are cut off from human society because they could not live peaceably together without quarrelling."

### The Personification of a Natural Phenomena.

Mr. Brown is next, as it were almost naturally, led on to consider what he (p. 377) calls the Personification of Natural Phenomena, or what Mr. Man would call the Andamanese ideas of God. This point he examines at great length in some 32 pages of his book (pp. 351—383). He launches into the mythology of this all-important subject with the statement (p. 350). "In the various stories [of the Fire and Flood] there are two separate elements" : *viz.*, firstly "the explanation of how a disastrous flood or storm caused by the non-observance of ritual prohibition connected with Biliku (Puluga)," and secondly "how, through the flood and storm," animals "became separated from the human race."

"The clue to the understanding" of Andamanese mythology (p. 351) "lies in the Andamanese notions about the weather and the seasons." He then describes the seasons

as he understands them, and again alludes to the meaning of the term *kimil* (*gumul*) in connection with them, which here (p. 352) "denotes a condition of social danger or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society."

Mr. Brown here remarks (p. 352) that "the life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons," and in relation to the occasional cyclones in the islands he remarks (p. 352): "an old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had abated." Here I would note that either Mr. Brown did not understand the old man or the old man was rhodomontading. I have personally been through three cyclones,—twice at sea and once on the sea-shore. The sea on such occasions is about the last place any one would or could seek in a cyclone. He is right, however, in saying that the visit of such a storm is a time of real terror and extreme danger to such a people as the Andamanese.

Then Mr. Brown shows how the seasons (pp. 352-353) affect the food supply: "roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey."

**Biliku (Puluga) and Tarai (Deria).**

To follow his own expressions Mr. Brown then states:

"I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the *social value* of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, *i.e.*, the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of Legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call Biliku and Tarai. Using the word 'personification' in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of Biliku and Tarai."

These are the Northern forms; in the South they are Puluga and Deria. Biliku is associated with the North East Monsoon, *i.e.*, the cold and the hot season: Deria with the South West Monsoon, *i.e.*, the rainy season. "It is possible (pp. 353-354) to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to represent the changes of the latter as though they were the actions of human or anthropomorphic beings."

Mr. Brown's form of argument is that where there is general agreement as to beliefs on a particular subject, those are the major or important points: where there is a lack of agreement, those are the minor or less important points. On this argument he treats as a matter of lesser importance the fact that in the South Puluga is male and in the North Biliku is female. Then he says (p. 354): "applying the strict method outlined above, we may begin by noting that there is completely unanimity in regard to the connection of Biliku and Tarai with the North East and the South West respectively, and therefore with the monsoons. No interpretation of the myth can be adequate unless it sets out from this fact. The connection is so firmly fixed that it appears in the names of the winds themselves."

As to the ascription of the winds, Mr. Brown remarks (p. 355) that "only the South West wind is associated with Tarai and all the other winds with Biliku," and he says that the point is one of "considerable importance in the interpretation of this myth." Biliku is therefore naturally connected with the chief winds and storms, and so is more important than Tarai. "This preponderance (p. 356) will need to be explained as one of the essentials of the myth." In fact on p. 365 Mr. Brown asserts that it is Biliku that sends all the storms and Tarai that sends nothing more than heavy showers of rain. With the fear of Mr. Brown before me I cannot help saying that these assertions require modification. Storms do occur in the North East Monsoon and are occasionally severe: cyclones are terrible and

occur usually then, but they are rare, no one individual being likely to experience more than one or two in his life, whereas in the South West Monsoon storms are constant and on the West Coast of the Andamans very severe.

**The Anger of Biliku (Puluga).**

Mr. Brown now carries on the argument, p. 356: "the Andaman Islander represents any natural phenomenon having *negative social value* as though it were the result of the action of a person in anger, this being the one anti-social passion with which he is most familiar in his own life . . . . The *negative social value* of a violent storm is obvious," and they are therefore clearly due to the anger of Biliku.

He next remarks (p. 357): "another law of Andaman Mythology is that a person, such as the Moon, is never angry without cause." and he examines three actions of extreme importance which "cause the anger of Biliku." The first is the melting or burning of bees-wax. The season for doing this is necessarily the hot season, and "year after year the wax-melting season comes to a close in showery weather." So (p. 358) "the anger of Biliku following the melting of bees-wax is in one sense simply a statement of actual observable fact. The second point is the cutting down or digging up in the hot season of certain plants, which include the most valuable vegetable food. Here again, Mr. Brown argues (p. 359): "there is a definite ground of association [of Biliku's anger] in familiar natural phenomena." The third action that can cause Biliku's anger is (p. 359) "the killing of a Cicada or making a noise while the Cicada is singing in the morning or evening." Here the explanation is (p. 360) that "the grub of the Cicada is eaten during the *kimil* [danger] season and at no other time of year," *i.e.*, only in the cyclone season.

The Andamanese are represented here as a kind of ceremonial homœopaths. They do ceremonially the very acts that anger Biliku in order to cure or avert her anger *E.g*, (p. 359): "the efficient way of stopping a storm is to go into the forest and destroy the plants that belong to Biliku," and (p. 361) by performing the ceremony of "killing the Cicada" they insure fine weather.

Reviewing the whole subject, Mr. Brown writes (p. 362): "The explanation that I have to offer of their beliefs relating to Biliku and to the things that offend her is that they are simply the statement in a special form of observable facts of nature."

**The Sex of Biliku.**

On this subject Mr. Brown remarks (p. 365):

"There is a lack of agreement . . . . Tarai, (p. 366) rules over the rainy season, in which the chief food is the flesh of animals of the land and of the sea: it is the business of men to provide flesh food. On the contrary Biliku rules over the seasons in which the chief foods are vegetable products of different kinds: it is the business of women to provide such foods . . . . There is (then) sound reason for calling Tarai male and Biliku female . . . . This way of thinking of Biliku as female is in harmony with her character as outlined above. Women (in the Andamans) are notoriously uncertain, changeable creatures You can always reckon fairly well what a man will do, but not so with a woman."

After carefully qualifying this statement about women by the words he puts in brackets, Mr. Brown goes on (p. 366): "In the South Andaman, however, both Puluga and Deria are said to be male. It can be shown that this view is also appropriate in its way. The Akar-Bale [Balawa] say that Puluga and Deria were once friends, but have quarrelled and now live at opposite ends of the earth and are perpetually renewing their quarrel." The two monsoons end in unsettled weather. The combat is such as would be fought among men: obviously therefore Puluga and Deria should be male. All this Mr. Brown qualifies by the remark (p. 367): "I venture to think, however, that the Southern myth is not quite so

satisfactory as the Northern one, does not translate quite so well all the different features of the natural phenomena with which it deals." He thus shows once again that he can never regard as likely any observation in the field that does not support his theory.

### Biliku (Puluga) and Fire.

Here Mr. Brown says that the Andaman Fire Legends (p. 367) "owe the origin of the connection between Biliku, the storm-sender. and lightning . . . . (p. 368). One belief is that it is a fire-brand flung by her through the sky : a second is that it is a mother-of-pearl shell (*be*) similarly flung : yet a third statement is that she produces the lightning by striking a pearl shell (*be*) on a red stone." Lightning is usually regarded as a fire-brand, but (p. 368) "the explanation of lightning as a shell depends not only on the pearly lustre of this kind of shell, but also on other features of it," and as to this point (on p. 369) Mr. Brown is not clear. I gather that the fire was stolen from Biliku, and becoming angry "she tried to punish the offender," by flinging "a fire-brand or a [pearl] shell" at him. She thus became hostile to the ancestors, and this is made a point as to her general attitude.

### Biliku, the Enemy and also the Benefactress.

"There can be no doubt," says Mr. Brown (p. 370), "that [hostility] is the usual way in which the Andamanese conceive the relation between Biliku and the ancestors, and therefore, since the ancestors represent the society in its beginnings, between Biliku and themselves." But he sees that Mr. Man's descriptions of Puluga "as the creator of the world and the beneficent ruler of mankind" conflicts with this view. And then, although he admits (p. 370) that "there is no doubt that at times, and more particularly in the southern tribes, the natives do regard Puluga as the benefactor and even the creator of the human race," he adds a footnote (pp. 370-371) :

> "In dealing with the account given by Mr. Man of the Andaman mythology, it is necessary to remember that he was undoubtedly influenced by a very strong desire to show that the beliefs of the Andamanese about Puluga were fundamentally the same as the beliefs of the Christian about his God. It may be taken as certain that he did not consciously allow this wish to affect his record of the Andaman beliefs, but it is very improbable that it did not unconsciously have a great deal of influence both on Mr. Man and on his informants."

This is a dangerous line of observation, because if we are to hold that Mr. Man's view is too theistic, this book shows that Mr. Brown's view is equally too atheistic. The remark on Mr. Man's work seems all the more uncalled for when we read on pp. 371-372 :

> "The revolution of the seasons brings to the Andamanese new supplies of relished foods, —the grubs of the Kimil season, the yams and honey of the cool and hot seasons. One of the Andamanese names for the season of the North East Monsoon means 'the season of abundance.' Therefore Biliku, as the personification of this season, is herself the giver of good things . . . . This view of Biliku as a benefactress, although it conflicts to some extent with the view of her as on the whole hostile to mankind, yet, since it springs from the essential basis of the myth, cannot be overlooked . . . . Contrary though they be, these two aspects of Biliku are both integral parts of the myth."

### Biliku and the Sun.

Says Mr. Brown (p. 372) : "Besides the lightning, there is another natural source of Fire, the Sun. We find, therefore, two different (and contrary) developments of the myth of the beginning of the world. In one of these the Sun is associated with Biliku, is regarded as belonging to her or made by her." He does not, however, follow up this version of the creation further.

### Biliku and the Spirits.

On this point (p. 373) Mr. Brown says :

"It is clear that Biliku and Tarai must be distinguished from the Spirits (Lau), yet at the same time Biliku is brought into relation with the Spirits by the existence of

two alternative explanations of bad weather. One of the explanations is that storms are due to Biliku, while the other is that they are due to the Spirits, particularly the Spirits of the Sea. Both these beliefs, contradictory as they seem, are held by the Andamanese."

### The Biliku-Tarai Myth.

Mr. Brown winds up his remarks on the Biliku (Puluga) and Tarai (Deria) Legends with these remarks (p. 375): "I have tried to show that the whole myth is an expression of the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons. These phenomena affect the social life in certain definite ways and thereby become the objects of certain sentiments: these sentiments are expressed in the Legends . . . . (p. 376). I have explained some of the more important of the Legends as being expressions or statements of the *social value* of natural phenomena." And finally he says: (pp. 376-377) "all the legends I wish to maintain, are simply the expression in concrete form of the feelings and ideas aroused by all things of all kinds as the result of the way in which things affect the moral and social life of the Andaman Islanders. In other words the Legends have for their function to express the *social values* of different objects,—to express in general the system of social values that is characteristic of Andamanese social organisation."

### Personification of Natural Phenomena: Definition.

Says Mr. Brown (p. 377):

"It is now necessary to give a more exact definition of this term. By it I mean the association of a natural phenomenon with the idea of a person in such a way that the characteristics of the phenomenon may be regarded as though they were actions or characteristics of the person. The simplest form is that in which the phenomenon itself is spoken of and thought of as if it were an actual person. Thus the sun and moon are spoken of as Lady Sun and Sir Moon."

And then a little later on he says: "the name of the person is also used as the name of the phenomenon of which he is (in the phraseology used here) the personification."

### Process of Personification.

After discussing the process of personification in mythology generally in terms of which the key-note of the argument is (p. 378),—"the first organised experience that the individual attains is all connected with persons and their relations to himself,"—Mr. Brown goes on to apply the theory to the Andamanese. He observes (p. 379) that "the Andaman Islander has no interest in nature save in so far as it directly affects the social life," and in order to express his emotional experience "he has to make use of that part of his own experience that is already thoroughly organised, namely, that relating to the actions of one person as affecting another, or as affecting the society."

### The Ancestors: Tradition.

Mr. Brown next remarks (p. 381) that "the personification of natural phenomena is not the only method by which their *social value* can be expressed," which observation leads him on to discuss the question of the existence of "ancestors," as to whom he says (p. 382) that "the ground of the belief in the ancestor is to be found in the existence of a sentiment fundamental in all human society, which I shall call the feeling of tradition."

Finally he is led to an opinion, of which one hears more later, relating to an "ordered form:"

"To put the matter (pp. 382-383) in a few words, the individual finds himself in relation to an ordered system—the social order—to which he has to adapt himself. The two chief moments in his affective attitude towards that order are his sense of his own dependence upon it and of the need of conforming to its requirements in his actions. It is this—his sense of his own relation to the social order,—that the Andaman Islander expresses in the Legends about the ancestors, which recount how that order came into existence as the result of actions of anthropomorphic beings."

### Culture Legends : Weapons and Implements.

Here Mr. Brown leaves mythology and passes on to culture. He states (p. 383) that by his Culture Legends "the Andamanese Islander expresses his sense of his own dependence on the past," and then he says :

"It is obvious that the Andaman Islander cannot regard the ancestors as being persons exactly like himself, for they were responsible for the establishment of the social order, to which he merely conforms, and of which he has the advantage. He says, therefore, that they were bigger men than himself, meaning by this that they were bigger mentally or spiritually, rather than physically, that they were persons endowed with powers much greater than those even of the medicine men of the present time. This explains the magical powers that are attributed to many, or indeed to all, of the ancestors."

As to the meaning of magical powers he has a significant note on p. 384 : "In the last chapter it was shown that the attribution of magical force to such things as foods and human bones is simply the means by which the *social values* of these things are represented and recognised. Similarly here the magical powers of the ancestors are simply the representation of their *social value, i.e.,* the social value of tradition."

### The Order of Nature : Moral Laws.

Mr. Brown now becomes distinctly philosophical in his argument (p. 384) :

"Besides the social order there is another, the order of nature, which is constantly acting upon the social order . . . . The Andaman Islander finds himself in an ordered world, a world subject to law, controlled by unseen forces. The laws are not to him what the natural laws are to the scientist of to-day, they are rather of the nature of moral laws . . . . Right or wrong mean acting in accordance with the laws of the world or in opposition to them, and this means acting in accordance with or in opposition to custom. Custom and law are indeed here two words for the same thing . . . . The forces of the world, as the Andaman Islander conceives them, are not the blind mechanical forces of modern science : rather are they moral forces . . . . (p. 385) The law of the world then [to him] is a moral law, its forces are moral forces, its values moral values ; its order is a moral order."

"This view (p. 385) of the world is the immediate and inevitable result of the experience of man in society. It is a philosophy not reached by painful intellectual effort, by the searching out of meanings and reasons and causes ; it is impressed upon him in all the happenings of life, is assumed in all his actions : it needs only to be formulated. And the argument of this chapter has been that it is as the expression or formulation of this view of the world as an order regulated by law that the Legends have their meaning, fulfil their function."

### Function of the Legends.

Mr. Brown's philosophic argument continues (p. 385) :

"The Legends of the Andamanese then, as I understand them, set out to give an account of how the order of the world came into existence . . . . A fundamental character of the natural order (as of the social order) is uniformity : the same processes are for ever repeated . . . . (p. 386) [The Legends] express two most important conceptions, that of uniformity (or law) and that of the dependence of the present on the past. It is the need of expressing these two conceptions that gives the Legends their function. They are not merely theoretical principles, but are both most intensely practical . . . . The knowledge of what to do and what to avoid doing is what constitutes the tradition of the society, to which every individual is required to conform."

### Local Motives of the Legends.

"The Legends set out (p. 386) to express and to justify the above two fundamental conceptions. They do so by telling how social order itself came into existence, and how also, all those natural phenomena that have any bearing on the social well-being came to be as they are and came to have relation to the society that they possess. One group of facts that

have an obvious relation to the society consists of the geographical features of the islands . . . . (p. 387) we may say briefly that the local motives of the Legends serve to express *social values* of localities . . . . (p. 386) Such motives are of considerable importance; of much more importance than would appear from the stories."

**Animals as Ancestors.**

Mr. Brown next turns his attention to the subject of Animal Ancestors (p. 387): "many of the actors in the Legends bear the names of animals, but at the same time are spoken of as though they were human beings . . . . (p. 388) It is not simply that the legendary person is a man with the name and some of the characteristics of an animal; nor is it simply that the legendary person is the ancestor of the species of which he hears the name. We can only adequately express the thought of the Andamanese by saying that he regards the whole species as if it were a human being." And on p. 389 Mr. Brown remarks: "there is a parallelism between the personification of natural phenomena and the personification of animal species."

**Origin of the Legends.**

After explaining that the Andamanese have no Star Legends because (p. 393) they do not have their attention called to the stars, Mr. Brown sets about accounting for the existence of the Legends (p. 393): "the Andamanese, like other savages, have not acquired the power of thinking abstractedly. All their thought necessarily deals with concrete things. Now the story form provides a means of expressing concretely what could otherwise only be put in an abstract statement . . . . (p. 394) The chief ground for the interest in stories shown by children and by savages is, I believe, that they afford the means of exercising the imagination in certain specific directions and thereby play an important part in enabling the individual to organise his experience." And finally he makes some interesting remarks in this connection (p. 394): the point to be noted is that these tales are always frankly egoistic and boastful, and it is for this reason that they may well be compared with the *day dreams* of the more civilised . . . . (p. 395) By means of the personification of natural phenomena and of species of animals, and through the assumption of the existence of the ancestors and their times, they are able to develop a special kind of unwritten literature, which has for them just the same sort of appeal that much of our own literature has for us."

**Inconsistency in the Legends.**

Mr. Brown frequently points out that the Legends contain inconsistencies, and he writes on p. 396: "it is clear that the Andamanese do not always apply to these Legends the law of logical necessity." And then on p. 397 he adds:

> "The very existence of inconsistencies of this kind proves without any doubt that the mental processes underlying the Legends of the Andamanese are not similar to those that we ourselves follow when we attempt to understand intelligently the facts of nature and of life, but rather are to be compared to those that are to be found in dreams and in art,—processes of what might conveniently be called symbolic thought. It would hardly be necessary to point this out were it not that many ethnologists still try to interpret the beliefs of savages as being the results of attempts to understand natural facts, such as dreams, death, birth, etc."

**Social Value of the Legends.**

At length Mr. Brown returns to his main argument, (pp. 397-398):

> "The thesis of this Chapter has been that the Legends are the expression of *social values* of objects of different kinds. By the *social value* of an object is meant the way in which it affects the life of the Society, and therefore, since every one is interested in the welfare of the society to which he belongs, the way in which it affects the social sentiments of the individual. The system of social values of a Society obviously depends upon the manner in which the society is constituted, and therefore the Legends can only be understood by constant reference to the mode of life of the Andamanese."

### Mr. Brown's Conclusion.

At this point Mr. Brown concludes his survey of the beliefs and customs of the Andamanese in words which justify this lengthy analysis of his book. Taking his enquiry to be one " not into isolated facts but into a culture," he writes (p. 400) :

" Here I must conclude my attempt to interpret the customs and beliefs of the Andaman Islanders, but in doing so I wish to point out, though indeed it must be fairly obvious, that if my interpretation be correct, then the meaning of the customs of other primitive peoples is to be discovered by similar methods and in accordance with the same psychological principles. It is because I have satisfied myself of the soundness of these methods and principles, by applying them to the interpretation of other cultures, that I put forward the hypotheses in these two chapters with an assurance that would not perhaps be justified if I relied solely on a study of the Andamanese."

The importance of such a statement, if Mr. Brown's principles are to be followed generally, will be at once apparent to the reader of these pages.

### The Moral Force of Society.

But Mr. Brown goes further. On p. 402 he writes :

" Leaving aside altogether the question of how sentiments of these kinds come into existence, we may note that they involve the existence of experience of a particular type. The individual experiences the action upon himself of a power or force—constraining him to act in certain ways not always pleasant, supporting him in his weakness, binding him to his fellows, to his group. The force is clearly something not himself—something outside of him therefore, and yet equally clearly it makes itself felt not as merely external compulsion or support, but as something within his own consciousness—within himself therefore. If we would give a name to this force we can only call it the moral force of society."

And then he adds (p. 404) : " the Andamanese have not reached the point of recognising by a special name this power of which they are thus aware." That is to say, if I read Mr. Brown aright, the Andamanese have no actual term for ' God '—not even Biliku (Puluga).

### The Andamanese Religion.

He seems, however, rather to hesitate here. He writes on p. 405 : " throughout these two chapters I have avoided the use of the term ' religion.' My reason for this is that I have not been able to find a definition of this term, which would render it suitable for use in a scientific discussion of the beliefs of such primitive people as the Andamanese." But should he not call his discussion philosophic rather than scientific ? However, leaving this point aside, he adds (p. 405) :

" The definition of religion that seems to me on the whole most satisfactory is that it consists of

(1) A belief in a great moral force or power (whether personal or not) existing in nature ;
(2) an organised relation between man and this Higher Power.

If this definition be accepted, it is clear that the Andamanese have religious beliefs and customs. They do believe in a moral power regulating the universe, and they have organised their relations to that power by means of some of their simple ceremonies. . . . . The purpose of these two chapters has been to explain the nature and function of the Andamanese religion."

### The Conclusion.

I have now taken Mr. Brown through his whole argument, using his own language as far as possible. Those who desire to know him further can study his remarkable book for themselves. It is worth the while of a student of cultural anthropology thus to go into it, because we have had the arguments of Max Müller and his School of Mythology—the Sun Myth and the rest of it—supplanted by Frazer and the School of Comparative Anthropology, and how we shall have, if Mr. Brown has his way, a School of Philosophic Anthropology. If his ideas ' catch on ' I foresee an endless number of volumes of a philosophic nature, all equally satisfactory to the writers and their schools, and more or less flatly contradicting

each other. To start with a theory—Mr. Brown writes (p. 400), 'I have assumed a working hypothesis '—and work up the beliefs and customs of a primitive people thereon, open up a literary vista that appals me at any rate.

It recalls to my mind a verse that has remained with me from my childhood of long ago. If I remember rightly, Southey was the author, when writing of Mob, Cob, and Chittabob. I may be wrong in the ascription. That, however, does not much matter, but after going through Mr. Brown's book, I cannot help wondering what length of a philosophy of religion could be built up round that one verse by some remote descendant, were it to remain on and be discovered : how he would 'interpret' first the words themselves and then their religious meaning : how his contemporaries would dispute with him about both points.

The Devil was dressed
In his Sunday best :
His coat was red and his breeches were blue,
And there was a hole where the tail came through.

(*To be continued.*)

## THE YEZIDIS OR DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS OF MOSUL.[1]

BY H. C. LUKE.

### Prefatory Note.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

ON 25th—28th August 1924, *The Times* published a series of articles by Mr. H. C. Luke, sometime Assistant Governor of Jerusalem, on the "Minorities of Mosul," two of which will be of interest to the readers of this *Journal*, as they describe the Yezidis of that region who are called "Devil-worshippers." These people being surrounded by Muhammadans and probably of an ancient 'Persian' origin, their form of devil-worship has naturally a strong Musalman tendency. 'Devil-worship' is however very common in India, especially in the South, where its tendency, on the contrary, is towards Hinduism. Nevertheless to my mind the term 'devil-worship' is a misnomer, naturally invented by the early European travellers to the East, imbued with Christianity, to describe a form of religious practice foreign to their ideas : whereas, 'devil-worship' is really the worship of supernatural spirits by primitive Animists. It is not devil-worship at all, as some of the spirits worshipped are not credited with evil designs on human beings and their property.

In 1883 I secured from the library of my old friend and correspondent, Dr. A. C. Burnell, a long MS. entitled *The Devil Worship of the Tuluvas*, which I got translated through the Rev. Dr. A. Männer of the Basel Mission, and published it in this *Journal* in 1894 (vol. XXIII). I then made the above remarks and have never since seen anything to shake the opinion therein expressed. Indeed it is strongly confirmed by the situation in the Nicobar Islands, where European missionaries taught the people to apply the term 'devil' to the images and other objects they set up to scare away the evil spirits from their homes. There the 'devil' is really the 'devil-scarer.'

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In the Jebel Sinjar to the west of Mosul and in the district of the Sheikhan to the north-east there dwell the peculiar people known variously to the world at large as Yezidis and Devil-worshippers. To all appearances of Kurdish stock and speaking a Kurdish dialect, their own name for themselves is Dasnayi ; the meaning of the term Yezidi, applied to them by their neighbours, is uncertain. The Shiah Moslems, by way of adding to the odium which their beliefs have brought upon the Yezidis, like to ascribe their foundation to Yezid Ibn Mu'awiya, the murderer of the Shiah hero Husein ; but their origin is infinitely more remote than the times of the fourth Caliph and his luckless sons.

1 Reprinted from *The Times*, August 27th and 28th, 1924.

More convincing is the derivation from Yazdan, which is a Persian name of the Supreme Being; for the Almighty enjoys among the Yezidis a remote and abstract supremacy, although it is in truth little more than a *succès d'estime.* Their more serious attention is bestowed upon him whom we denominate, when we wish to be polite, the Fallen Angel, but whom they regard as invested by the Lord of All with full authority over this world below. Hence, though it may be difficult to love him, the Devil is a power to be propitiated, to be treated with all respect; hence their terror lest anyone should pronounce in their hearing the accursed word *Sheitan.* For this is the opprobrious name bestowed on the object of their devotions by those who, in their ignorance, regard him as the spirit of evil, working in opposition to the Almighty, whereas all Yezidis know him for a supernatural potentate of the first magnitude, who has received for his activities a Divine *carte blanche.*

### Satan Visualized.

Hence, too, this ubiquitous, if not precisely benevolent, power is personified in a fashion very different from that obtaining among those who mistake him for Beelzebub. No cloven hoofs and forked tail, no horns and luminous eyes, figure in the Yezidi iconography. It is as the regal, the divine peacock, as Melek Taus, the Peacock Angel or King, that Satan is visualized by his fearful but faithful followers. It is, indeed, not impossible that Melek Taus was once Melek θεός "the Lord God," and was originally the attribute of the Almighty; that it was snatched from the feeble hands of Yazdan by the celestial Mayor of the Palace and conferred, with an altered meaning, upon himself. At all events, the bronze peacock, Melek Taus, is the *sanjaq*, the banner, the Palladium of the Yezidi people, the one object of their ritual never shown to those outside the fold.

This, then, is the fundamental article of Yezidi belief, the worship of the Peacock Angel, but it is by no means the only one. The recognition of the principles of good and evil, which it perpetuates, is derived in all likelihood from the Persian dualists; from Persia, too, the Yezidis may have drawn their cult of the sun, for Urumiah, the birth-place of Zoroaster, is very near to the lands of the Dasnayi. On the other hand, their Sun worship may be much older, for they adore him at his rising and setting and kiss the spot on which his ray first rests; and on great festivals they sacrifice white oxen at his shrine. Now we know that the Assyrians dedicated bulls to the sun; and what is more likely than that this strange people, whose origin and beliefs point to a remote antiquity, should be a remnant of the race which once ruled in this very region? Another circumstance, which lends support to this theory, is the extreme hairiness of the Yezidis. The men, almost without exception, have beards abnormally long and curly, and their hair is as coarse and thick as that of the hairy Ainus. When we consider how prominent a part is played by the beard in Assyrian sculpture, it is impossible not to be struck by this curious parallel.

### An Accommodating Sect.

Nothing if not broad-minded, the Yezidis regard as inspired the Old and New Testament, and the Koran. They accept the divinity of Christ, but believe that His reign will not come until that of the Devil is over, and that the latter has another 4,000 years to run. The language of their prayers is Arabic, although they do not understand it; and they assert that the water of the sacred spring at Sheikh Adi is miraculously derived from the well Zemzem at Mecca. They circumcize with the Moslems (though this may be a measure of self-protection), they baptize with the Christians, they abstain with the Jews from unlawful foods, they abhor with the Sabæans the colour blue. Moses, Manes, Melek Isa (Jesus), Mohammed, and even the Imam Mahdi combine with Melek Taus to produce a medley of undigested and half-understood tenets unequalled in any other sect. That no teacher has come forward to blend these ill-assorted beliefs into a somewhat more coherent whole is

probably due to the ignorance which is almost an article of faith among them. Before the war the arts of reading and writing were confined by an old tradition to a single family ; and when, after the Armistice, the British Administration determined to open a school in the Jebel Sinjar many obstacles were encountered. The letters *sh*, and words rhyming with *sheitan*, had first to be eliminated from the text-books ; and *shatt*, the usual Mesopotamian word for river, had to be replaced by the synonym *nahr*. The school, opened in the face of much opposition, did not survive for long. After a few weeks four pupils were drowned while fording a river swollen by the rains, whereupon the Yezidis regarded their aversion from learning as divinely (or infernally) vindicated.

The catholicity of their beliefs has not saved the Yezidis from unpopularity and even persecution. Layard gives, in his "Nineveh and its Remains," a graphic account of how they were decimated by the Kurdish Beg of Rowanduz, who pursued those of the Sheikhan to Mosul, and massacred the wretched fugitives on the hill of Qoyunjik in Nineveh, on the site of Sennacherib's Palace, within full view of the exulting *Moslawis*. Soon afterwards came the turn of the Sinjar ; and there were massacres of Yezidis in 1892 and during the war. There cannot now be more, at the outside, than 50,000 survivors, including the Yezidis in Transcaucasia, of a race which a hundred years ago mustered well over a quarter of a million. The steadfastness of the Yezidi under persecution is the more remarkable in that Melek Taus seems an uninspiring deity for whom to die. His cult rests on a basis of fear and expediency, from which love is wholly absent, yet scarcely ever have his followers been known to abjure, even when faced with torture and death, their singularly negative creed.

The Yezidi is a gentle being whose sufferings have left their mark in his cowed and melancholy demeanour His chief enemy is the Turk, but to the Christian minorities, especially to the Nestorians, he is drawn by the bond of a common oppression. It must be accounted unto the Yezidis for righteousness that during the war, albeit themselves heavily oppressed, they gave shelter to hundreds of Armenian refugees, who crawled from Deir ez-Zor to the Jebel Sinjar in the course of the great Armenian massacres, and stoutly refused to surrender them despite the persuasion and threats of the Turks.

The Yezidi Mecca is the shrine of Sheikh Adi, called after two persons of the same name, the one a Sufi saint of the 12th century, the other a Kurdish gardener of the 13th, who appear to have been blended into one nebulous identity. Before visiting Sheikh Adi we stayed for a day and a night with Said Beg, the hereditary Mir (Chief) of the Yezidis, in his castle of Ba Idri in the Sheikhan. Ba Idri, distant a few miles from Al Qosh, is an Oriental version of the true feudal stronghold of the Middle Ages. It stands assertively on the top of a small plateau or hill, while the village crouches obediently at the bottom, some hundreds of feet below. The relative positions of castle and village symbolize not inaccurately the relations which exist between the Mir and his people.

### The Power of the Mir.

Over the Yezidis the Mir exercises an absolute and autocratic sway. The best lands, the handsomest women are his without question, and he is supported by an annual due levied in money and kind upon all his subjects. So, while they are poor, he is tolerably rich, and is the proud possessor, as we learned with surprise, of five American cars. Nevertheless, his position has its drawbacks, for rarely does a Mir of the Yezidis die in his bed. Said Beg's great-grandfather, Ali Beg, was killed by the aforementioned Rowanduz Kurds ; his father, another Ali Beg, was shot by his mother's paramour, with the connivance, it is said, of the lady. Nor is Said Beg likely to make old bones, for he loves to look upon the wine when it is red and, above all, upon the *Arak* when it is white. Yet a certain charm of manner never leaves him altogether, and intoxication seems but to heighten his natural melancholy.

THE YEZIDIS, DEVIL WORSHIPPERS



THE MIR OF THE YEZIDIS



SHRINE OF THE PEACOCK

*H. C. Luke*

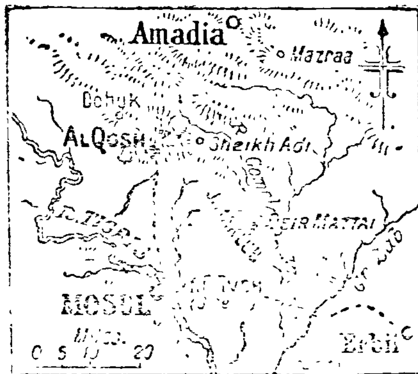
THE YEZIDIS, DEVIL WORSHIPPERS



Sheikh Adi

H. C. Luke.

He is a personage of remarkable appearance, tall and thin, with slim, delicate hands and a waving black beard gradually tapering to a point. He looks older than he is, and a slight cast in his mournful eyes gives him a faintly sinister look. He was clad, during our visit, in the finest black broadcloth, his dress consisting of full, baggy breeches embroidered with black silk, and a black Zouave jacket similarly embroidered. On his head he wore a black *agal* over a white silk *keffiyeh.* Black top-boots, lacing to just below the knee, completed his costume, the general effect of which was that of a Mephisto of the Russian ballet. No Bakst could have designed a more suitable outfit for the Lord of the Votaries of Satan, nor could Nature have endowed him with a more appropriate cast of countenance. That formidable dowager, his mother, was also at the castle, and we visited this grim, handsome, upstanding woman, who plainly despises her weakling son, in a lofty, smoke-blackened raftered hall in the women's apartments, where, beside a blazing open fire, she was holding her court.




**The Mecca of the Yezidis.**

On the following day, accompanied by the Beg's retainers, we rode over the hills to Sheikh Adi, a journey of three hours on horseback from Ba Idri. Soon we encountered a number of wayside shrines with the tapering fluted cones or spires (they can hardly be called domes) which are characteristic of Yezidi architecture. Beside each shrine there was generally a sacred tree enclosed by a wall, for the Yezidis are Nature-worshippers, and trees and water, stars and the moon compete with the Sun and the Devil for their veneration. Presently we turned sharply from the valley we had been following into another valley that runs into it at right angles. In a few minutes we crossed a stream by a small stone bridge and as we did so our Yezidi companions reverently removed their shoes. For we were now on sacred ground, in the *Haram* of the Yezidi holy place, not to be trodden by the faithful save with bare feet, in a region where no wild animal may be killed, no vegetation cut, no water polluted. It is a little paradise, this valley, of luxuriant groves and running water, of olives and pistachios, walnuts and figs, and silvery poplars beside the stream. The tender green of early spring was around us, and at our feet hyacinths and other wild flowers grew in abundance ; the sides of the valley were white with hawthorn and pink with almond-blossom. The shrine itself lies almost entirely hidden in a bower of giant mulberry trees, and a pergola of these shades with its foliage the court in front of the temple.

But amid all this sylvan loveliness is suddenly struck another note. Up the wall of the temple, to the side of the door, there climbs, evil and sinister, a shiny black serpent. He is only cut in stone, it is true, and his colour is merely black-lead ; but he comes as an abrupt reminder that here, despite the innocent charm of spring, the spirit of Apollyon broods. Other devices, such as lions, combs, and hatchets, are carved in low relief on the façade, and inscriptions in Syriac and Arabic, some of them upside down, are let into the walls at various places around the court.

The custodian of Sheikh Adi, who is Said Beg's first cousin, welcomed us at the porch of the temple, but, before conducting us into the *arcana*, insisted that we should eat. Cushions and felt mats were placed for us against the temple façade, and black-shirted *fakirs* (an order of the Yezidi hierarchy) hurried backwards and forwards with copper trays laden with eggs, pilau, chicken, and a sweet called *baqlawa*. Then we went inside, removing our shoes at our hosts' request and placing, as they did, a small coin on the threshold.

### The Shrine of the Peacock.

As we entered, one of our escort, a Nestorian, almost enveloped in bandoliers, whispered to me: "Effendim, this was once a church of ours, like Nebi Yunus at Nineveh"—the Mosque containing the tomb of the prophet Jonah, which surmounts the Palace of Esarhaddon at Nineveh. Probably he was right, for the temple is known to have been built by Christians and it bears a general resemblance to the early Christian churches of these parts. The interior consists of barrel-vaulted twin naves, and is entirely unlighted. In a corner of the southern nave there rises a spring of beautifully clear water, the sacred spring from Zemzem, while from the middle of the northern nave a door leads into the Holy of Holies, a square chamber surmounted by the principal spire of Sheikh Adi. There is nothing in this room in any way resembling an altar; its only contents are two draped wooden chests, one of them presumably the repository of the bronze Peacock. More mysterious is the adjoining chamber, where is stored the olive oil used at the shrine. Ranged along the walls are rows upon rows of large earthenware jars, which looked, by the flickering light of our small tapers, as if in them were concealed the forty thieves.

There is no village at Sheikh Adi, but around and above the temple are hundreds of buildings, large and small, devoted to a variety of purposes. There are the dwellings of the custodian and his attendant *fakirs*, and rest-houses for the pilgrims who repair thither at the two great feasts of the Yezidi year. Minor shrines and oratories of all sizes and shapes, some of them set apart for pilgrims of particular localities, dot the valley on either side of the glen, and a little way up the southern slope rises the fluted spire of Sheikh Shems ed-Din, the Sun. From the roof of this lesser temple, where the white oxen are sacrificed to the tutelary god, we obtained a good view of the precincts, embowered in greenery and blossom. And at night, when every dome and eminence and grove and spire is illumined by flares of bitumen (for no lamps are allowed at Sheikh Adi, and the wicks for the flares are made at the shrine), the effect is beautiful in the extreme. It seemed wrong that all this loveliness and light should be lavished on the Prince of Darkness; yet one could not but admit, if his shrine be any criterion, that he is a gentleman, and a gentleman of taste.

## MISCELLANEA.

### BUDDHA AND DEVADATTA.

The field of comparative history is so vast that nothing can be done without mutual co-operation. Each investigator can only report what he has observed within his own area and the conclusions he draws, relying on others to complete his evidence or destroy it by counter-evidence.

I am therefore grateful to Mr. Kalipada Mitra for having done both (see *Ind Ant*, vol. LIII, p. 125). He has successfully disposed of the argument based on the language used by the Buddha to Devadatta. I confess it was rather a weak one and I let it go without regret.

Mr. Mitra sees in the size of the stone hurled at the Buddha an objection to my suggestion that it is a cross cousin legend; he thinks such an immense stone could only be thrown with malice. But in the legend of Nayau and Vanuavatu enormous rocks are hurled, so enormous that they can be seen standing in the sea to the present day; yet this is a legend of cross cousinship. I pointed out that the legend of Gṛdhrakúṭa is a very old world type which is generally dismissed with the explanation "aetiological", though as a matter of fact that explains nothing, but is merely a word used to conceal our ignorance. Some of these legends at least can be traced to ancient ritual, but the key to most of them is missing, partly because of that blessed word "aetiological", by the use of which most investigators think themselves exempted from any further effort. This type of legend is world wide and is familiar to students of European Folk-Lore. They must therefore be of a most remote antiquity, far more remote than Buddhism. Some of these legends explain the configuration of the country as the result of a contest of two gods. Fijian evidence inclines me to suppose that this type is an echo of magical contests between cross cousins, magical contests, such as are commonly described by the Brahmanas as taking place between Gods (*deva*) and Demons (*asura*), *both descended from Prajápati*, and in imitation thereof between the sacrificer (*yajamánah*) and his *bhátṛvya*, a word

which translators render "enemy", but which literally appears to mean "cousin."[1] have also shown in my "Maternal Relations in Indian Ritual" that the maternal relations take part in the sacrifice as the vehicles of the Fathers or the Demons according as the case may be.[2]

If my hypothesis is correct, then it must have far reaching consequences, at which I merely hinted in my paper. Mr. Mitra has therefore rendered a great service in collecting the passages which relate to cross-cousin marriage in ancient India. Especially interesting is the fact that Ṛig Veda 7. 4. 3. 22. 6. was used as a *mantra* for cross-cousin marriages.

It would seem that cross-cousin marriage once prevailed in Northern India and has been driven southwards and eastwards following the general trend of migrations and culture. Did it ever prevail further west? That is a question I commend to the students of the Near East and the Aegean. I will merely point out that naming after the grandfather is a feature that often occurs in connection with the cross-cousin system, and an organic connection between the two can certainly be explained, though not as yet proved. For example, naming after the grandfather is still practised in Macedonia, and I have been promised evidence from ancient Greek literature, which I am still awaiting. That may be very little to go on, but all things have small beginnings.

A. M. HOCART.

## BOOK-NOTICE.

ASHANTI. By CAPT. R. S. RATTRAY of the Gold Coast Political Service, Head of the Anthropological Department of Ashanti. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1923.

This is an excellent survey of the people of Ashanti by a trained observer, after a year's work among them. It differs greatly from similar books I have recently had occasion to notice in this *Journal*, Mrs. Leslie Milne's *Home of a Far Eastern Clan* (Palaungs) and Mr. A. R. Brown's *Andaman Islanders*. All three have worked on the spot. Mrs. Milne's book is observation pure and simple; Mr. A. R. Brown's is observation to suit a theory; Captain Rattray's is theory based on observation. To apply a commercial simile: Mrs. Milne has produced an accurate detailed ledger: Mr. Brown a somewhat careless ledger to fit into a preconceived allocation of accounts: Captain Rattray an accurate ledger on which to base his balance sheet. The method of the last named seems to me to be altogether admirable.

Captain Rattray's book is concerned with an African people, but there are points in it of much interest to those engaged in Indian research. He does not deal minutely with the people themselves in their ethics, but confines himself mainly to three chief points, which may be described as family relationship, religion and land tenure. He gives in addition some very valuable chapters on Drum Language, the Golden Stool, gold weights and neo-lithic implements. It will be observed that the subjects mentioned necessarily cover a great part of Ashanti customs. Incidentally I may remark that anthropologists all the world over will be grateful to the Gold Coast Government fo setting up a State Department to enquire into the ways and beliefs of the peoples over which it has sway.

Captain Rattray begins his survey by a wise remark: "It is an axiom in anthropology that without a clear knowledge of the family organization of a tribe, it is impossible fully to understand their social organization." And he then proceeds to examine closely at length the organization in Ashanti. This leads him to the examination of the *ntoro* institution, on which he makes the following observation: "I believe it to be correct to state that the full meaning of the word *ntoro*, as understood in Ashanti, has hitherto been little known to European ethnologists. Christaller [*Dict. of the Ashanti and Fanti Languages*] briefly and somewhat ambiguously defines the term as 'a person of the same ancient family worshipping the same fetish.'" The position of the *ntoro* deeply affects marriages, and accordingly Captain Rattray gives an account of *ntoro* exogamous divisions, in the course of which he is led to an account of Lake Boromtwe, which exhibits some remarkable phenomena not unknown in England. But what will, especially in the South, most interest Indian scholars is that the Ashanti system of descent is matrilineal and matripotestal, that is, clan descent is traced through the female, and authority in the family lies mainly in the hands of the mother's brother, the maternal uncle (*wofa*).

Having thus dealt with the Ashanti family classificatory system, Captain Rattray considers the religious beliefs and practices of the people at great length. Here he makes another of his illuminating remarks: "These beliefs have for centuries been described as 'fetishism' or 'fetish worship,' but these religious conceptions of the Twi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast and of Ashanti have, in my opinion, been grievously misrepresented." Captain Rattray himself describes the religion as a belief in gods (*abosom*),

[1] See my paper on "The Cousin in Vedic Ritual" in this *Journal*. I am dealing with these "creation ceremonies" in my "Studies in Origins." which I hope to get through the press this year or early next.

[2] *Man*, 1924, No. 76.

which are non-human spirits residing in certain "brass pans as their shrines under" 'Nyame, the God of the Sky, who is to him [the Ashanti] the Supreme Being of the Universe. He has of course also charms, amulets, talismans, mascots, "which may be termed fetishes." Such a situation will be familiar to all students of Religion in India.

The ceremonies for the propitiation, solicitation or worship of ancestral spirits are elaborate, and that they are regulated by old custom is shown in the long account of the Adae Ceremony when the spirits of the departed rulers of the clan are worshipped. As in most animistic countries, Ashanti has its sacred groves and Captain Rattray gives an account of the ceremonies at the most sacred of all, that at Santemansa, where "the first human beings, belonging to certain of their clans, came forth from the ground. This grove is a sanctuary where "to spill human blood is absolutely tabu." Next Capt. Rattray describes a "ceremony witnessed while the Burial Quarters of the Kings and Queens were undergoing repairs." In his account there occurs *en passant* a statement worth noting: "Those who were present in Coomassie during the recent trial, before their own chiefs, of the miscreants who desecrated the 'Golden Stool' will never forget the sobriety and dignity with which that case was conducted." Another ceremony described is that of Baya when the *samanfo* spirits of dead ancestors are asked to bless the next year's crop.

Captain Rattray next has a chapter on 'Nyame' the Supreme Being, where he is in conflict with the older authorities who "denied the conception of a Supreme Being in the West African mind." He sets to work to show that 'Nyame, the God of the Sky, is truly the Supreme in the eyes of the Ashanti peoples, as distinct from the *abosom* or gods, whose "power emanates from various sources, the chief of which is the great spirit of the one God." The *abosom* are however for practical purposes far more important than 'Nyame in Ashanti life. An instructive account of great interest is then given of the gods and their shrines and their origin, which seems to make them akin to Animistic spirits elsewhere in the world.

Here Captain Rattray has a paragraph worth transcribing in full, as it will come home to many an inhabitant of India who is considering the relative position of Śiva, Vishnu or Krishna as the Supreme (Paramêśvara) and the godlings worshipped in everyday life: "I shall never forget the answer of an old priest with whom I remonstrated, chiefly to draw him out and see what he would say, for not trusting to the spirit of the great God and leaving out all the lesser powers, whose help was thus passively and indirectly invoked. He replied as follows: 'We in Ashanti dare not worship the Sky God alone, or the Earth Goddess alone, or any one spirit. We have to protect ourselves against, and use when we can, the spirits of all things in the Sky and upon Earth. You go to the forest, see some wild animal, fire at it, kill it and find you have killed a man. You dismiss your servant, but later you find you miss him. You take your cutter to hack what you think is a branch, and find you have cut your own arm. There are people who transform themselves into leopards; 'the Grass-land people' are especially good at turning into hyenas. There are witches who can make you wither and die. There are trees which fall upon you and kill you. There are rivers which drown you. If I see four or five Europeans, I do not make much of one alone and ignore the rest, lest they too may have power and hate me.'"

We now pass on to the curious Apo or Lampooning Ceremony which is very African, and to the consecration of a shrine to the temple of the god Tano or Ta Kora, the greatest of the Ashanti gods—the god of the mighty Tano river: and the account of the religious ceremonies, with the *a'fahye* ceremony in connection with the eating of the first fruits of each crop. From this outline it will be obvious to the readers of this *Journal* that a study of the religious practices in Ashanti are well worth their while, under the able guidance of Capt. Rattray.

We need not here follow him in his dissertation on Law, Tenure and Alienation, but his chapter on Drum Language is of absorbing interest, as he explains how "two drums set in different notes can possibly be heard as, or made to reproduce, actual spoken words." It is indeed a kind of Morse system and can be so applied, for Capt. Rattray says: "Mr. E. O. Rake, District Commissioner, Scoutmaster of the Mampon troop of Boy Scouts, and I received and read various messages, of the nature of which we were not informed beforehand, drummed by an African Boy Scout who was familiar with Morse—the high and low tones, dashes and dots, carrying clearly through over a mile of the dense Ashanti forest."

Next the story of the Golden Stool of the Ashanti Kings, which is the shrine of the *sunsum* or soul of the people, is well-told, and the effect of its desecration upon the people can be readily understood. There is also a Silver stool of the Queen Mother, a replica of which was presented to H. R. H. Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, on her marriage, a most delicate attention. The book winds up with an account of the Ashanti Goldsmiths and Gold Weights and the burial vessels (*kudus*) made to contain these last. The account shows that they bear a curious general family likeness to the animal and similar forms formerly employed among the Malays for their currency: see my 'Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States,' *ante*, vol. XLII.

R. C. TEMPLE.

# LEGENDS OF THE GODLINGS OF THE SIMLA HILLS.

COLLECTED BY PANDIT SUKH CHAIN OF KUMHARSAIN
AND TRANSMITTED BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

LIST OF DEOTAS OR GODLINGS INCLUDED IN THE LEGENDS.[1]

**1st Group.—The Koṭ Îshwar Family.**

1. Koṭ Îshwar. 2. Bhuṛâ included with Koṭ Îshwar. 3. Sher Koṭ. 4. Âdshaktî at Kacherî. 5. Kasumbâ at Khekhsu. 6. Mehani (Koṭ Îshwar).

**2nd Group.—The Marechh Family.**

7. Dithu of Dholâser. 8. Malendu of Malendî. 9. Bhareog. 10. Paochî,—Shawân.

**3rd Group.—The Nâgs.**

11. Kalwa Nâg of Kandru. 12. The Nâg of Dhalî. 13. The Nâg of Dhanâl. 14. The Nâg of Ghundâ. 15. The Nâg of Bagî.

**4th Group.—The Dum Family.**

16. The Dum of Sharmalâ and Gathan. 17. The Dum of Hemrî. 18. The Dum of Karel. 19. The Dum of Jhangrolî. 20. The Dum of Kamâlî in Kandru. 21. The Dum of Pharal in Chebîshî. 22. The Dum of Kotlâ in Chebîshî. 23. The Dum of Ruprî in Chebîshî. 24. The Dum of Parojushâ in Chebîshî.

**5th Group.— Muls.**

25. Mul Padoi of Kotî. 26. Mul Padoi of Shailâ. 27. Mul Padoi of Ghetî.

**6th Group.—Kâlîs and Bhâgwatîs.**

28. Kâlî of Anû. 29. Kâlî of Dertû. 30. Durgâ Bhâgwatî of Bharech. 31. Bhâgwatî of Kachin Ghâtî.

**7th Group.—Independent Deotâs.**

32. Manûn or Magneshwar. 33. Melan in Kotgaṛh. 34. Baneshwar of Pujârlî. 35. Garon of Panjaulî. 36. Kot of Kalmun. 37. Matlu of Shelotâ. 38. Heon of Palî. 39. Khoru of Sainja. 40. Ghat of Karel. 41. Lonkra of Jao.

**1st Group.—The Koṭ Îshwar Family.**

1. *Koṭ Îshwar Mahâdeo* (*Shiva.*)—He originated in the temple of Durgâ at Hât Koṭî. (Durga's own history goes back to the times of the *Mahâbhârata.*) When Koṭ Îshwar Mahâdeo, began to oppress the people in Hât Koṭî, the Brâhmans thought that the god had become a *râkshasa* (devil) and two Brâhmans, Obû and Shobû, by magic shut him up in a *tumbî* and corked up its mouth. The *tumbî,* with the god and goddesses in it, they intended to throw into the Sutlej 40 miles from Hât Koṭî, which lies on the banks of the Pabar. The Brâhmans had also shut two *mâtrîs* up in the *tumbî* with the god. When they reached Paroî Bîl, two miles from the Sutlej, the Brâhman who was holding the *tumbî* stumbled and let it fall. As it broke in pieces the imprisoned god, with the two *mâtrîs* escaped. Koṭ Îshwar Mahâdeo took shelter among the *bana* and *bhekhal* bushes, one of the *mâtrîs* soared to the top of the Tikkar hill, now called Kechêre, where she took up her abode in the *kail* trees ; and the other flew across the Sutlej halting at Khekhsû.

Koṭ Îshwar again began to trouble the people in the form of a serpent. He would suck milk from the cows and they blamed the cow boy, who was much alarmed when one day he saw a serpent sucking milk from his cows. He told the owners of the cattle, and a Brâhman of Batâra, a village near Kumhârsain, sent to the spot and called on the serpent to appear, if he were a god; threatening to burn him by magic as an evil spirit or devil, if he did not. So the god walked into his presence and the Brâhman, bowing before Koṭ Îshwar, invited him to his village, where he lived for 12 years.

[1] Where not otherwise indicated the *deotâs* noted are in Kumhârsain.

No Râjâ then ruled this part of the hills, which were held by the Mâwannas or Mâvîs. Sûnû, a powerful Mâwanna, heard of the god's miracles and began to worship him. Once he dreamed that the god did not wish to live at Mathana Jubaṛ, where a temple was proposed for him, but would prefer Pichlâ Tiba, now called Koṭî, and so a temple was built there for him. Long afterwards the present temple was built on a larger scale at Madholî.

At first he was represented by a single *asht-dhat* idol, but subsequently some fifteen more idols of mixed metal were added as companions. A *rath* (palanquin) was also made and the god was seated in it at *melâs*.

Bhuṛâ, another contemporary Mâwanna, came to a *melâ* organised in honour of the god by Sûnû Mâwanna. He was dressed in ape skins. But Sûnû did not allow Bhuṛâ to come before the god or touch his *rath*, so Bhuṛâ returned to his home at Bhuṛâ, scarcely three miles from Madholî, in disgust. One day after his return, when breaking up new land he found a gold image, and for this he made a *rath* and seated himself in it.

This *deotá* was brought to Mandholî, as he desired to live there with Koṭ Îshwar, and Sûnû and Bhuṛâ abandoned their feud.

Koṭ Îshwar was a terror to the countryside. He would kill any Mâwanna who did not obey him. Some indeed say that the gold image which Bhuṛâ found was Koṭ Îshwar himself in a new form, and that Bhuṛâ was killed by him.

When the Brâhmans of Hât Koṭî learnt that Kot Îshwar had become a good spirit and was displaying miracles at Mandholî, two of them came to Lathî village, where they have been settled now for 77 generations.

Bhuṛâ Deotâ appeared about the same time as Koṭ Îshwar. His worshippers offer him only gold or *masrû* cloth while Koṭ Îshwar can accept anything. Goats are usually sacrificed.

The following *melas* called *jâgrâs* are held in honour of these Deotâs :—(1) Bharaṛâ on the 1st Jeth ; (2) Madhaunî on the Rakhrî Puniâ in Bhâdoṅ ; (3) Madholî on the *purânmâshî* day in Bhâdoṅ ; (4) Patî Jubaṛ on the 6th or 7th Asâṛ. But at the following places the *jâgrâs* are held in Baisâkh and Sâwan on any day that may be fixed, Urshu-Khekhar, Nâl, Jâr, Sawarî, Dib, Banû, Khâbar, Dhâlî, Kûprî.

Koṭ Îshwar ruled this part of the hills before the Gerû family settled at Karanglâ. Sometime afterwards the Gerû brothers quarrelled over the partition of the kingdom, and so a cow-girl divided it into two parts, *viz.*, Karanglâ and Kumhârsain. Her decision is said to have been :—*Jis Kepu tis Kanár, Jis Khekhar tis Dalár.* "He who gets Kepu will get Kanâr and he who takes Khekhar shall have Dalâr." Kepu and Khekhar are villages on the banks of the Sutlej and Kanâr and Dalâr are villages high up the valley. A stream, the Sawarî Khad, divides the country.

When the first Thâkur came to Kumhârsain, the country was made over to him by Koṭ Îshwar, who showed him favour, so that State has given him a *jâgîr* worth Rs. 506, and pays the expenses of his *jâgrás*. Six generations ago Ṭhâkur Râm Singh of Kumhârsain fought with Râṇâ Pirthî Singh of Keonṭhal and by his aid the Ṭhákur gained a victory.

Every third year the Deotâs' chaṛî or staff is taken to all the *bâsas*, and when a new Râṇâ ascends the *gaddî* the Deotâ himself tours the country in a *rath*. Every house presents four *pathûs* of grain Koṭ Îshwar is the *kula deo* or *kul deota* (family god) of the chief of Kumhârsain.

2. *Bhurâ.*—The account of this *deotá* is included in that of the foregoing, Kot Îshwar.

3. *The Deotá Sherkoṭ at Kumhársain.*—This *deotâ* has his temple in the palace at Kumhârsain. He is none other than Koṭ Îshwar himself, but is called Sherkoṭ. None but members of the Râṇâ's family and the State *parohits*, who are called Sherkoṭû Brâhmans, can go into his temple. It is said that the original idol of Kot Îshwar is kept here and that the image at Mandholî is only a duplicate.

4. *Devî Âdshaktî* or *Durgâ Mâtâ.*—A Brâhman of the Sakteṛu Pujâra family relates that more than 100 generations ago his ancestors came from Kâshî (Benâres) and settled at Hât Koṭî; and that one of them came to Kacherî village with Âdshakti Bhâgwatî. This goddess, with her sister and Koṭ Îshwar were shut up in the *tumbî*, as has been told in the account of Koṭ Îshwar. Âdshaktî flew to the top of Tikar hill above Ghâmanâ, a village in Kumhârsain, and settled there in the form of a *ling*. Her presence was revealed to a Mâwannâ of Tikkar in a dream, and the *ling* was found and placed in a temple.

Other *pujâris* of Kacherî say that Âdshaktî, commonly called Bhâgwatî Mâtâ, no doubt came from Hâtkoṭî, but that she was never imprisoned in a *tumbî* and that when the *pânda* of Hâtkoṭî had shut up Koṭ Îshwar in the *tumbî* the two Durgâ sisters accompanied him, one walking ahead and the other behind him looking for an opportunity to release Koṭ Îshwar. When the *pânda* fell and Koṭ Îshwar escaped, the two sisters also flew away. First they went to Rachtaṛî village and thence to Hâtâ.

Durgâ Mâtâ settled at Tikkar, in which neighbourhood Bhuriâ, once a powerful Mâwannâ, had fallen into difficulties. He consulted Brâhmans, and they sent for a number of virgins, and, having made them sit in a row, called aloud to them that the spirit that distressed the Mâwannâ, whether god or devil, would appear and reveal through one of the girls why he had harrassed the Mâwannâ. One of the girls then began to dance in an ecstacy and said that Bhâgwatî Mâtâ was lying on Tikkar hill in the form of a *ling*, and that, of the two sisters, one lived at Kandâ, on the top, and the other at Mundâ, the foot of the hill. The Mâwannâ and his Brâhmans excused themselves to the spirits, saying that they had not known of their presence, and they promised to build a temple to the Mâtâ. The girl in a trance walked up the Tikkar hill; the other virgins, the Brâhmans and the Mâwannâ following her. She pointed out the spot where the *ling* lay and on that spot was built the temple called Matrî Deorî, which still exists.

At that time Polâs, a Brâhman from the Sindhû Desh came to Lathî village and began to worship Durgâ Mâtâ. He came really to look for Koṭ Îshwar, who would not appear before him, but at last after twelve years he revealed himself and then the Brâhman began to worship him.

Koṭ Îshwar gave the *pujârîs* of Bataṛâ village to Bhâgwatî Mâtâ for her worship. These *pujârîs* are said to have come from Korû Desh.

The Mateog Brahmans were settled in Bataṛâ and they worship Koṭ Îshwar daily, but at the four *sankrânts* in Baisâkh, Sâwan, and Mâgh and at the Diwâlî, the Sherkotû Brâhmans officiate.

Kirtî Singh, the first Râṇâ of the Kumhârsain family, acknowledged Durgâ Bhâgwatî as sister of Koṭ Îshwar and built her a new temple at Kacheṛî. Every third year a *pûjâ melâ* is held and the State pays the expenses.

According to the custom of the Kumhârsain family the *jadolan* ceremony (cutting the hair of a son or wearing nose- or ear-rings by a girl) is performed at the Mâtrî Deoṛâ. The Râṇâ and his Râṇîs go in person to this temple with their children for the ceremony. Similarly on ascending the *gaddî* the new Râṇâ with his family attends, at the Mâtrî Deoṛâ, a ceremony called the *jawâlâ jâtrâ*.

Bhâgwatî Mâtâ holds a *jâgîr* from the State worth Rs. 14-1-3 and also has a small *kelon* forest. Goats are sacrificed to her and every third year, or when desired buffaloes are also killed before her at the Mâtrî Deorâ.

Some people believe that though the Mâtâ has temples at the Mâtrî Deoṛî and Kacheṛî she is always sitting at her brother Koṭ Îshwar's side at Mandholî.

Benû and Bhuṛî are two *bhors* or servants of the Mâtâ. Benu was a Ghoṭ from Benâ in Kullû and Bhuṛî came from Jo Bâg at Haltu. The latter is a female attendant and was originally a ghost. Both attend at the gate of the temple.

5. *Devî Kasumbâ* at Khekhsû.—Khekhsû is on the north bank of Sutlej in Kullû. Koṭ Îshwar's other sister, Kasumbâ Devî, settled there when he escaped from Pro.

One of the Chhabîshî Brâhmans of Goân, a village in Kullû Sarâj, saw in a dream a *pindî* or *ling*. The goddess then told him of her presence and desired to have a temple built for her at Khekhsû.

The people say that the artisan who made the image of Hât Koṭî Durgâ was called in to make her image. When he had finished the image the Mâwannâ of Hât Koṭi had his right hand cut off so that he might not make any more like it ; but with his left hand he made a similar image at Khekhsû.

Râṇâ Kirtî Singh acknowledged this Devî as Koṭ Îshwar's sister and gave her a *jâgîr* worth Rs. 42-2-9. The original intention was that 9 *bharaos* of *kiâr* land at Khekhar and goats should be given by the State on both the *ashtamîs*, in Chet and Baisakh. This Devî also holds a *jâgîr* from Koṭgaṛh and Kullû.

When Koṭ Îshwar has any *jag* she comes to Mandholî and joins in it. A Dîvâlî *melâ* is held at Khekhsû. There used to be a *bhundâ* every 12 years at Khekhsû, but the British Government has forbidden it owing to the risk of human life. Bragû Deo is the *bhoṛ* or servant of Kasumbâ. He was brought from Jundlâ in Kumhârsain and was originally a devil.

6. *Mehânî of Koṭ Îshwar.*—No legend has been given of this *deotâ*.

**2nd Group.—The Seven Marechh.**

There are seven Marechh Deotâs, of whom three are found in Kumhârsain, two in Shangrî, one in Koṭgaṛh and one in Kullû, thus :—(1) Dithû at Dholaser ; (2) Marechh or Malendu at Malendi ; (3) Marechh at Bareog in Kumhârsain ; (4) Marechh at Shawan in Shangrî ; (5) Marechh at Banar in Shangri ; (6) Marechh at Kirtî in Kotgaṛh ; and (7) Marechh at Bainâ in Kullû. Marechh of Kirtî and Marechh of Bareog are said to be brothers of Dithû. The Marechh Deotas are said to have descended from the Mânasarovar Lake some 4000 years ago. Legends of only the first four Marechh *deotas* are given.

7. *The Deotâ Dithû, or Marechh, of Dholaser.*—This Deotâ has his temple at Dholaser close to Kumhârsain itself. The story is that he came from the Mânasarowar Lake nearly 4000 years ago. On his way down he met Bhambû Rai at a place now called Bhambû Rai-kâ-Tibbâ, (where the ruins of his palace are said to still exist), a peak between Bâghî and Kadrâla. Bhambû Rai, who was a Râjput Râjâ, like Kans, is looked upon as a *maleksh* or *daint* (devil). His favourite meat was a woman's breast and he ate one every day. He used to go to bathe in the Sutlej, thence he would go to Hât Koṭî for worship, and return to dine at his palace every day, a daily round of about 100 miles, which he accomplished in six hours. The people were greatly oppressed by him and at last the Deotâ of Shulî (in *pargana* Kanchin of Bashahar) killed him. But after his death his evil spirit (*pâp*) began to torment the Shulî Deotâ and to appease him a *shântî* was built for him as a resting place at Shulî in a separate temple. Every twelfth year Bhambû Rai comes out by night, never by day, seated in his *rath*, and rides and dances in it carried by the people. Women and children shut themselves up in their houses while he is out at night.

When Dithû Deotâ was coming down from the Mânasarowar Lake he was very powerful, and near Kadrâla refused to let him pass, so a great fight was fought in which Bhambû Râi was worsted. Dithû then halted on his way at Marnî, in a ravine near Madhâwanî in the valley north of Nârkanda in Kumhârsain, and hid himself in a cave and ate human flesh. He used to accept human sacrifice. A long time afterwards, when the *deotâ* Koṭ Îshwar held his *melâ* at Chhachhorî, Dithû hearing the *karnâl* and *narsinga*, came out of his cave and joined in the fair. Both the *deotâs* made friends, and Koṭ Îshwar invited Dithû to his temple at Koṭî.

When Koṭ Îshwar and Bhuṛâ Deotâ entered the temple, two goats were, as usual, offered for sacrifice, but Koṭ Îshwar declined to accept them, saying that he had with him a third *deotâ* as his guest and that a third goat should be offered for him. So the people brought a third goat, but Dithû refused to accept it, saying that he preferred human flesh and that a virgin girl should be sacrificed. Koṭ Îshwar was displeased at this and ordered Dithû's arrest, and he was not released until he had sworn never to taste human flesh again. This pleased Koṭ Îshwar and he made Dithû his *wazîr*. He was given a place called Dholaser where his temple exists. Koṭ Îshwar *deotâ* also assigned him his favourite, Kotâlû, a Mâwannâ, as his *kârdâr* and this family was given a village called Bai close to Dholaser. Dithû brought with him from Marnî a *mohrû* tree, which still stands with some *kelon* trees close to his temple. Râṇâ Kirtî Singh, founder of the Kumhârsain State, affected this *deotâ* and gave him land worth Rs. 35-12-9. The *deotâ* comes out of his temple when Koṭ Îshwar rides out in his *rath* at a *melâ*. A *baltî melâ* is held every third year.

I forgot to say that Bhambu Rai was a Râjput from Bangar Desh country. Some say that one thousand years of Sambat Râjâ Judhistar had passed when Bhambû Râi lived in the country. It is Samvat 5009 of Râjâ Judhistar now.

8. *The Deota Malendu, or Marechh, at Malendi.*—The people of Chebîshî *pargana*, who are devotees of Malendû Deotâ, say that the seven Marechh brothers came from Mânasarowar Lake and fought with Bhambû Rai when he barred their way. After his overthrow they came to Hâtû, whence they scattered. Malendû went to the Chhichhaṛ forest, and after a time flew to the top of Dertû hill above Chebîshî *pargana*. A Kâlî, or Kâlkâ, called Bhâgwatî, who lived on this peak, received him kindly, but after a while she desired him to acquire a territory where he could be worshipped, and recommended to him the Chebîshî *pargana*, as it was subsequently named.

The Deotâ Marechh left the Kâlkâ and came to the Lankî forest. Thence he descended to the Nâlâ and reached Janjhât, a place where he found a brass *bâolî* with brass steps down to the water. But some say either that he did not reach the brass *baolî* or that from the *baolî* he went to Dheonglî and set himself under a *bes* tree.

The story goes that this Marechh, being anxious to make himself known to the people, transformed himself into a serpent, and sucked milk from the cows that grazed near by. A cow girl saw him and informed a Deonglî Brâhman. When he came, the serpent returned to his original form, an *ashatdhâtû* image, and sat in his lap. The Brâhman gave him *dhûp-dîp*. At that time the Mâwannâs of Basheṛâ and Pharâl were powerful, so the Brâhman carried the image to Basheṛâ, and the Basheṛâ Mâwannâ in consultation with one of Pharâl informed Deotâ Koṭ Îshwar of the new arrival. Koṭ Îshwar treated the Marechh kindly and gave him the present Chebîshî *pargana*, but only on condition that he would not oppress the people, and that he should only be allowed goat and sheep (*khadu* not *bheṛ*) to eat.

He was given a *jâgîr* of four *kain* of land in the villages of Pharâl, Baṛot, Malânâ and Malendî, and also a field in each of the following villages, Basheṛa, Khâbar, Khatgar, Shailâ, Ghetî and Dhanâl. It was also agreed that Marechh Malendû should not go out for a ride on a *rath* unless Koṭ Îshwar gave him leave, and his *rath* is never decorated till Koṭ Îshwar sends him a piece of *masrû* cloth in token of permission. Like Dithû he does not come out of his temple save when Koṭ Îshwar does so. Malendû was further ordered to observe the following *teohârs* (at each of which Koṭ Îshwar sends him a goat), *viz.*, Bishû, Rehâlî, Dewâlî, Mâgh and Shaṛuno. Lastly Malendû was asked to select a place for his temple and he chose Malendî, where one was built by the Basheṛâ and Pharâl Mâwannâs.

It is believed that the *deotâ* is absent from his temple on the Mâghî Shankrânt for seven days during which the temple is closed and all work stopped till his return. The popular belief is that the *deotâ* goes to fight with the *râkshasas* and *daints* at Bondâ Bîl, somewhere in Bashahar and returns after bathing at Kidârnâth. On his return the temple is opened

and his *gur* or *dewâ* dances in a trance (*chirnâ*) and through him the Deotâ tells the story of his strife with the *râkshasa.* Strange to say, if the *râkshasas* have won it is believed that a bumper harvest will result ; but if the *deotâs* win there is danger of famine. Yet though there is good harvest, if the *râkshasas* win there is a danger that pestilence may afflict men or cattle, and if the *deotâ* wins, though there may be famine, they will avert pestilence.

A *deotâ* never speaks of himself, but only of the other *deotâs* who fought with him. If he says that a certain *deotâ* has left his bell on the field, it is believed that his *gur* will soon die, or if he says that a musical instrument is left, the deotâ's *turî* (musician) will die, or if a key is left that the *deotâ's bhandâri* or a *kârdâr* will die. If Koṭ Îshwar *deotâ* throws dust towards a *râkshasa* and retire from the field there may be famine or some part of the Kumhârsain State will be encroached upon or given to another State.

There is a pond at Bondâ Bîl and a Brâhman of Bashahr put a hedge on the side believed to be the *deotâs'* side, and the other side of it is believed to be the *râkshasas'* side. If the hedge on the *deotâs'* side falls, they are believed to suffer defeat, but if the *râkshasas'* hedge falls, they are worsted. If defeated, the *deotâ* says he is *chut chipat* (' impure ') and then a *baltî pûjâ* is held on an auspicious day. None but Mâon Nâg of Suket plunges himself in the pond at the temple, and on the flash of his plunge the *deotâs* bathe in the water sprays at the banks.

On the *shankrânt* days Brâhmans doing *pûjâ* recite *mantras* after ringing the temple bell and giving *dhûp-dîp* in a *dhurnâ* or *kaṛâch* and offer *dhûp-dîp.* These *mantras* are not found in any *Veda*, but are merely eulogies in connection with the *Mahâbhârata* fight. They are called *karâsnîs* and I give below the general *karâsnî* recited every day :—

देव आयो: वरहम आयो: वीशनु आयो: देव आयो: काली आयो: महा जोगनी आयो: महा काली आयो: देवी आयो: शकर्ता आयो: देवन देव आयो: अशट कोटी आयो: आयो: देव कुलइशवर आयो: देव मेरछ आयो:

The *Mahâbhârata* praises a song called *karâsnî.* Certain Brâhmans are believed to know the *Sâbar Bidiâ* or Magic-lore, *i.e.*, (1) *Tantra*, (2) *Mantra*, (3) *Jadu.* Their books are written in a character something like *tânkrâ*, but the language is different and very quaint. The *Sâbar Bidiâ* is known to few Brâhmans and they do not readily disclose its secrets.

Malendû has no connection with any other *deotâ* but Koṭ Îshwar and it is believed that at the time of any pestilence or famine he comes out at night in the form of a torch or light and tours through his dominion. The image of this *deotâ* is of *ashat-dhât* and sits on a *pajṛî*, a small four-sided bed, but he has no *singhâsan.* The *deotâ* has a *jâgîr* worth Rs. 88, and one of his *kârdârs* called *mashâna* is appointed by the State. A *mashâna* is changed when necessary by the State. His *gur* is also called *ghanittâ* and his *kârdârs* are commonly called *mahtâs.*

Malendû has two *bhoṛs*, Jhatâk and Lâtâ. Jhatâk is of an *ûch* or superior, while Lâtâ is of a *nîch* or lower, caste. Jhatâk lived at Ûrshû, a place also called Jhailâ, so he too is called Jhailâ at Ûrshû. He became Malendû's *wazîr* soon after he came to Malendî and his dwelling is a *thamb*, a long log of wood which stands before the temple. The *wazîr's* function is to drive away evil spirits, (*bhût, pret* and *churel*), if they possess any thing or man. He also protects people under Malendû's orders from visitations of any *châî chidar*, plague, famine, etc. Lâtâ was originally a Kolî by caste who lived at Kalmû village. He died under the influence of some evil spirit and became a ghost. As he troubled the Kolis of Kalmû and Shelag, they complained to the *deotâ* who, accompanied by Jhatâk, visited the place and caught him. At first Lâtâ would not come to terms, but the *deotâ* Malendû promised him his protection and that he should be worshipped by the Kolis and a *rot* loaf be given him on the four *shankrânts* (Bishû, Rehâli, Dewâlî and Mâgh) : and that he should be presented regularly with *dhûp-dîp* after he had himself received it, and that Kolîs should sacrifice ewes (*bheri*) to him. Lâtâ accepted

these terms and swore to trouble the people no more, but he explained that he could not sit still and so Malendû erected the wooden log in front of his temple and in it Lâtâ is doubtless ever moving.

Some say that Koṭ Îshwar gave Jhatâk as *wazîr* to Malendû. On one occasion Lâtâ left Malendû and fled to Koṭ Îshwar, but on Malendû's complaint Koṭ Îshwar restored him to his master who took him back to Malendî.

Bankâ is another *bhoṛ* who lives at Shelag. Kolis generally worship him and he drives away ghosts, etc. He was originally a devil in a forest but was subdued by Malendû.

9. *Deotâ Marechh of Bhareog.*—This *deotâ* of Bhareog is the family god of the Sheaul *pargana* people, and a small *jâgîr* is held by him of the State.

10. *Shawân Marechh at Paochî in Chebîshî.*—Paochî, a Brâhman village in *pargana* Chebîshî, has a temple to Shawân Marechh. An image of him was brought from Shawân, a village in Shangrî, and set up here.

**3rd Group.—The Nâgs.**

11. *The Deotâ Nâg, in pargana Kandarû.*—Nâg is one of the most powerful *deotâs* in the Simla hills. He appeared some 1500 years ago, at a time when three *deotâs* held the part of the country which is now the Nâg's dominion. These were Dadrû in *pargana* Kandarû, Baṭhindlû in *pargana* Chadârâ in Keunṭhal, Malânshar in Madhân State (at Kiârî), but their history is no longer remembered. The States of Madhân, Keunṭhal and Kumhârsain had established themselves when the Nâg appeared, and there was a state called Koṭî in Kandarû *pargana,* whose rulers belonged to the family of Sirmûr. Some people say that the Bain Ṭhâkur family of Madhân having died out, a prince of Kahlûr (Bilâspur), the ancestor of the present chief was brought in to rule Madhân soon after the Nâg appeared.

The Nâg's own history is that five Brâhman brothers, named Kâlû, Gâjan, Moel, Chând and Chânan, once lived at Bharâna, a village now in Madhân. Kâlû the eldest was a hermit. Once a *sâdhû* came to Bharâna and put his *âsan* under a *keloṅ* tree, cooked some food and asked Kâlû to eat it with him. He gave Kâlû four loaves, of which he ate two and kept the other two in his pocket. At the *sâdhû's* invitation Kâlû stayed the night with him, and at midnight he saw that carpets were spread before the *sâdhû's âsan,* torches lighted and *parîs,* and Râjâ Indar's dancing girls came and danced before the *sâdhû.* Kâlû watched this with amaze, but before daybreak the *sâdhû* and all had disappeared. Kâlû returned home, but was intent on finding the *sâdhû* again, as he believed him to be Râjâ Bhartarî. He climbed to the top of Tikkar hill, where his brothers grazed their sheep, but they could tell him nothing and bade him return home and fetch food. When he reached home Kâlû found his daughter-in-law at work, and on his asking her to give him some flour, she said that she was in a hurry to milk the cows, and so he returned to Tikkar empty-handed. In his disappointment and out of love for the *sâdhû* he fled like a mad man, leaving his cap, *topâ,* on the Tikkar peak, and throwing his two remaining loaves, which had turned into black stones, to the shepherds. While roaming far and wide in search of the *sâdhû,* Kâlû flung away his clothes and everything he had on him, one by one, at different places, and at last he died. It is believed by people that when he gave his brothers the stones, they and the sheep also turned into stones and that Kâlû, when he died, became a *sarelî* (a big snake).

This *sarelî* devoured men and lived on Tikkar hill. It would wander all over Chadârâ, Madhân and Kandarû—the then Koṭî State[2]—until the people begged the *deotâs* Dodrû, Bithindlû and Malânshar for protection, but they wept and declared that they could not subdue the Nâg that had appeared in the form of a *sarelî.* Such a terror to the country-side had he become that he would draw people into his mouth from afar with his breath.

[2] This Koṭî State should not be confounded with the present Koṭî State near Simla.

Hâtû fort was then in possession of Sirmûr and its officer sent 32 men to Rûpar to fetch supplies. On their return they saw a cave where they intended to halt, but found themselves in the monster's mouth. Then four Silû brothers, Kalâls of Kelvî village, volunteered to kill the *sarelî* and collected people for the enterprize. They found it sleeping in a *nâlâ*, with its head at Kelvî and its tail at Khingshâ, a distance of over five miles. It was arranged that one of the Kalâls should enter its mouth with an iron *jamdar* (spear) in his hand, so that if the *sarelî* shut its mouth the *jamdar* would keep his jaws apart, so that another man might enter his throat and thrust his *jamdar* through its neck, while others mounting its back might see the spear head and avoiding that spot hack at the serpent on every other side until it was cut to pieces. Led by the Kalâls, the people acted as arranged, and the monster was killed, the escort [3] from Hâtû emerging alive from its stomach.

In the monster's huge head were found two images of Mul Nâg, as the *deotâ* had said. This image is jet black with a *singhâsan*, on which the Nâg reposes, two Bhâgwatî Devîs sitting on either side with hands clasped, and also on each side a tiger watching. One of the images is in the temple at Dhâr village and the other is at Jadûn temple in Chadârâ *pargana*.

Some say three images were found. Hundreds of people collected, and the Brâhmans who carried the images fell into a trance and the Nâg spirit spoke through them, saying that he claimed the dominion over the three *deotâs* and should be carried first to Kiârî.[4]

Besides others, Pargi of Kelvî, Moel Brâhman of Bhrânâ, Faqîr *pujârâ* of Jadûn and Sadî Râm *pujâra* of Dhâr (Kandarû), accompanied the Nâg to Kiârî, and asked Dhonklû Chand, Ṭhâkur of Madhân, and his brother Kelâ to accept this new *deotâ*. The Rânâ said that none but Malânshar was his god and that the image was nothing but a *newâ* or *pâp*, and so the Chief hesitated to treat the Nâg as a god. The people said that the Nâg would strike like lightning. The Nâg then left Kiârî, but rested in a cave called Shûngra near it, until some three months later, a man named Goṛî of Kharal gave him *dhûp-dîp* and *ghî*, and thus encouraged the Nâg soared to the skies and a bolt from the blue destroyed the Malânshar *deotâ's* temple. The Ṭhâkur's Râṇâ was distressed in many ways, his sons while sleeping were overturned in their beds and rolled down on to the *obrâ* (cow-shed), serpents appeared in the milk and worms in the food served to the family. The *deotâ* Malânshar confessed that he had no power to check the Nâg and the Ṭhâkur of Madhân was compelled to acknowledge him as his family god, instead of Malânshar, who fled to Pujârlî, where a temple was subsequently built for him. The Nâg became *chaurî-kâ-deo, i.e.*, the god of the *gaddi* and *chaur.* Some people say that it was after this time that the Bain family of Madhân was succeeded by a Kahlûr prince.

When acknowledged as *gaddî deotâ* of Madhân, the Nâg returned to Chadârâ and asked the people to build him a temple at a place shown by ants. Jadûn was indicated and here the Nâg's temple stands. It is said that the Nâg is not fond of gold ornaments, so he never accepts gold. Two loaves that turned into stones were placed in the temple.

Bathindlû *deotâ* was also forced to abandon his dominions to the Nâg and took up his abode at Chothâ in Bhajjî.

Besides the Jadûn temple the Nâg wanted a temple at the spot where the *sâdhû* had appeared, and Kâlû had received two loaves. So here too a temple was built and in its enclosure stands the *kelon* tree beneath which there was a dance. A fourth temple to the Nâg was built at Dhâr in Kandrû.

Dodrû Deotâ's temple which stood below Kamalî village was destroyed by lightning. Dodrû fled to Madhân and Dodrâ is named after him.

[3] Some say that the Hâtû men were not *bârâ-bish*(12 × 20 = 32), but *bârâ-bishî* (12 × 20 = 240) men.

[4] Kiârî was then the capital of the chiefs of Madhân State, Dharampur being chosen later on.

A Ṭhâkur of the Sirmûr family ruled Kotî in Kandrû, and his family god was Narolû, a *deotâ* which had come with him from Sirmûr. Mûl commonly called Padoî had also accompanied this prince from the Chunjar Malâna *rawaṛ* (cave) near Mathiânâ. This Ṭhâkur was hard pressed by the Râjâ of Kullû, who was building a fort on Tikkar, so he invoked the Nâg for help. A small *deoṛi* (temple) had already been built at Tikkar for the Nâg, close to where the fort was being built by the Râjâ of Kullû, and the Nâg performed miracles which deterred him from going on with the building of the fort.

The *negî* of Kullû used to go to sleep at Tikkar and awake to find himself at Mâlag, five miles distant in Bhajji. For some time a mysterious spirit carried him to Mâlag every night, and at last when sitting on a plank at Tikkar, he found it sticking to his back. Dismayed at the power of the Nâg *deotâ,* the Râjâ's camp left Tikkar and returned to Sultânpur in Kullû, the plank still sticking to the *negî's* back. Distressed at this sight the Râjâ begged the Nâg to pardon his *negî.* promising to present him with an image and a copper *nakârâ,* and also to sacrifice goats to him whenever he himself or any of his *negîs* passed through the Nâg's dominions. As soon as this vow has made the plank fell from the *negîs* back. When anything clings to a man, the proverb goes: "*Kalwâ Nâg re jâe takhtî,*" like the plank on Kalwâ Nâg.

The Kullû Râjâ sent a pair of copper *nakârâs* and an image still kept in the Dhâr temple, called Mân Singh (presumably the Râjâ's name). When the Kullû *negî* left Tikkar, the Ṭhâkur of Kotî affected the Nâg more than ever and gave him a *jâgîr* in several villages. The name of this Ṭhâkur was Deva Singh, but whether he was the "Dothainya" who came from Sirmûr or only a descendant of the Sirmûr family is not known.

The *deotâ* Nâg has the following *bhoṛs* (servants), and certain Bhâgwatîs are his companions :—

(1) Bhoṛ, as he is commonly called. It is said that Kâlû the Brâhman, in his wanderings, tore a hair out of his head and threw it away at a place called Lolî (hair). It became a spirit and joined the Nâg when he appeared from the *sarelî's* head. He acts as a watchman and is given a loaf by the people. When there is a *khin* at Lolî he is given a *khadu* sheep.

(2) *Khoṛû.* This *bhoṛ* appeared from Khoṛû-thâch (a plain near Râmpur, two miles to the east of Thikkar hill). Kâlû had left something at this *thâch.* It, too, turned into a spirit and joined the Nâg when he appeared. This *bhoṛ* protects cattle, and is given an iron nail or ring called *kanailâ,* as an offering by the people.

(3) *Shâtkâ.* This *bhoṛ* appeared from Shiwâ, or Shabhog, the place where the *sarelî* had his tail. Indeed, some say that its tail became a spirit called Shâtkâ. He is offered a loaf by the people for protecting goats and sheep.

(4) *Sharpâl* is considered a low class *bhoṛ* and is worshipped by Kolîs, etc. His spirit does not come into a Kanet or a *pujâra,* but a Kolî is inspired by him and speaks. His function is to drive away evil spirits, *bhût, paret,* etc. The Nâg *does not* go into the house of any low caste man and so Sharpâl is sent in his place, the Nâg's *haṛgî* (iron staff) accompanying him. A loaf is given to him. When returning, the Nâg's *haṛgî* is purified by sprinkling on it milk and cow's urine. This is called *shajhernâ* (making pure).

(5) *Gungî* is considered a female *bhoṛ* and her abode is at Dyâ above Dhâr village. Every third year, on an auspicious day (*mahûrat*) fixed by a Brâhman, the Nâg goes to Dyâ. A goat is sacrificed to the Nâg and a *chelî* (kid) to Gungî. She appeared at Dyâ from a hair which fell from Kâlû or from his sweat, and joined the Nâg. She protects people from pestilence.

(6) **Thân** is also a *bhoṛ.* He originated at Kiârî and came with the Nâg when he was acknowledged by the Madhân *gaddî.* He also drives away *bhût, paret,* etc.

These are the six *bhors*, but the other companions of the Nâg rank above them in degree. These are the Bhâgwatîs :—

(1) *Bhâgwatî Rechî.* A few years before the Gurkhâ invasion, Ranji[5] of Bashahar came to Jadûn and Dhâr and plundered the *deotâ* Nâg's treasury, some images of which he took to Bashahar. The *deotâ* Nâg punished him by his power and he found his ribs sticking out of his sides and the milk that he drank coming out through the holes. One of the Lâmâ Gurûs told him that his spoliation of the Nâg's treasury was the direct cause of his complaint, so he returned all what he had taken from the temple.

Bhîma Kâlî of Sarâhan in Bashahar also gave the Nâg a pair of *chambâ* wood *dhols* and a *karnâl,* together with a *kâlî* shut up in one of the *dhols.* When the instruments were put in the Nâg's temple, they played of themselves at the dead of night. When people asked the Nâg the reason, he said that the *kâlî* sent by Bhîma Kâlî sounded them. The *kâlî* of Bashahar, however, could do no further mischief as she was subdued by the Nâg and bidden to dwell at Rechî, the hill above Sandhû, where a *chauntra* (platform) was built for her. She is a kind of subordinate companion to the Nâg and protects women in childbirth.

(2) *Nichî* is a Bhâgwatî. She dwells at Ronî in Chadârâ in a *deoṛâ* (small temple) and lives with Jharoshrâ Kolîs, but her spirit speaks through a Turî. Her duty it is to guard the Nâg's musical instruments and *nashân* (flag), etc. If a Kolî touches any instrument, a goat is taken from the Kolî as punishment.

(3) *Jal Matrî Bhâgwatî* has her temple at Kingshâ. She appeared near the water where the *sarelî* was killed, and is a goddess of water.

(4) *Karmechrî Bhâgwatî* came out of a piece of the *sareli's* flesh, and her *deoṛâ* is close to that of the Nâg at Jadûn. She also drives away evil spirits and can tell all about the *lâgâbhâgâ*, the kind of spirit that might cause trouble.

(5) *Dhinchâî Bhâgwatî* preserves stores of milk and *ghî.* People invoke her for plenty of milk and *ghî* in their houses.

(6) *Devî Bajhash Bhâgwatî* appeared from Rânîpur, where something fell from Kâlû and became this Bhâgwatî. She protects people from famine and pestilence.

(7) *Bhâgwatî Tikkar* lives with the Nâg at Tikkar. Tikkar Nâg is the same as Jadûn and Dhar Nâg. The same Nâg has separate images at Jadûn, Kiârî, Bharânâ, Dhâr and Tikkar.

As generations have passed away, people now think each separate personage to be the the same Nâg. The different *parganas* each worship the Nâg of their own *pargana.* People say that Kâlû left his *topâ* at Tikkar and that it turned into the Tikkar Nâg. Dhar Nâg calls the Nâg of Tikkar his *gurû.* Jadûn Nâg calls Dhar Nâg his *dâdâ* or elder brother. Dhar Nâg calls Jadûn Nâg his *bhâû* or younger brother, and Bharânâ Nâg is called by him *bahâdrû* or a brother. From this it may be inferred that Tikkar Nâg is the central spirit of the other Nâgs, because it was here that Kâlû became the *sarelî* and his shepherd brothers with the sheep and the two loaves all turned into stones.

There are two temples on the top of Tikkar.[6] At the following *teohârs,* which are celebrated on Tikkar, people collect at *melas :*

(1) the Salokrî in Baisâkh ;

(2) the Jathenjo in Jeth, when all the Nâgs stay there at night and all the residents of the country side bring a big loaf and *ghî* and divide them amongst the people. This loaf is called *saond* :

[5] Ranjit *wazîr*, commonly called Ranji, and great-grandfather of Rân Bahâdur, *wazîr* of Bashahar, who conquered Dodrâ-Kowar.

[6] This is the ridge which is seen from Simla and from which the Shâli peak rises. The ridge stretches north-east from the Shâlî. Between the two temples lies the boundary line, the southern valley being shared between Madhân and Keuṇṭhal and the northern between Bhajjî and Kumhârsain. The boundaries of four States meet here.

(3) at the Rehâlî, when 11 images called the 11 *mûls* are brought, the shepherds also bringing their sheep and returning to the Dhâr at night. The *pujârâs* feast the people and next day two images (*kunartî*) go to Kamâlî village to receive their dues[7], and two images go to Newrî village for the same purpose. These two images are the Deo-kâ-Mohrâ and that of Man Singh of Kullu :

(4) at the Nâg Panchamî in Bhâdoṅ, when the observances resemble those at the Salokrî :

(5) at the Mâgh or Makkar Shankrânt, when three goats are sacrificed, one given by the Kumhârsain State ; one by the *zamîndârs* and a third by the people of Lolî village. The *deotâ* also gets alms. One of the temples at Tikkar belongs to the Kandarû people and the other to those of Jadûn and Madhân.

It may be noted here that there is also a Nâg *deotâ* at Kandî *kothî* in Suket, who is an offshoot of the Kalwâ Nâg *deotâ.*

The legend is that a Brâhman of Bharânâ village went to Charâg, a village in Suket, and asked some women, who were husking rice, to give him rice as *bhog* (food) for his idol of the Nâg. The women scornfully declined to give him any, so the image stuck to the *okhal,* and warned by this miracle they gave him some rice. At this time a *bhût,* which dwelt in a large stone, used to devour human beings and cattle, so the people called on the Nâg for help, and he in the guise of lightning broke the stone in pieces and killed the *bhût.* The people built the Nâg a temple which had 11 rooms.

Another Nâg's temple stands at Hemrî in Bhajjî. Crows destroyed the crops in this village, and so a Bharânâ Brâhman brought an image of the Nâg and established it at Hemrî. Dum *deotâ,* who also lives there, made friends with the Nâg. The place where they live is called Deothan.[8]

At Newrî village Dhai Nâg slew a *bhût* who used to kill cattle. It lived in a stone close behind the village and a Newrî woman secretly worshipped it, but Kalwâ Nâg destroyed the stone with the devil inside it, and overwhelmed the house of the woman, who was killed together with her 3 sheep. When the Nâg goes to this village, he sits on the spot and speaks to the people. Every third year the Nâg goes to Bharânâ and there drinks milk from a vessel.

In Kelo, a village in Bhajjî, there lived an old man and his wife who had no son, so they asked the Nâg for one, and he told them to sit there one Sunday at a place which had been purified by cow's dung and urine, and there present a goat for sacrifice and think of him. This they did, and the Nâg appeared in the sky in the form of a large eagle. Descending to the place he placed in the woman's lap a male child and bore away the goat. The old woman found her breasts full of milk and nursed the baby. This family is now called the Lud Parwaṛ or Eagle's Family. This miracle is said to have occurred 700 years or 17 generations ago. Another miracle is thus described :—

Some people of Dhar, who were returning from the plains through Kunhiâr State halted at Kunhiâr for the night. As they were singing the *bar* (songs) of the Nâg, he as usual appeared in one of the men, who began to talk about the affairs in Kunhiâr. The Râṇâ asked them about their *deotâ* and his power, and they said that their Nâg *deotâ* could work miracles. So the old Râṇâ asked the Nâg for a son and heir (*tikkâ*), and vowed that if by the Nâg's blessing he had a *tikkâ* he would invite the *deotâ* to Kunhiâr. The Râṇâ was blessed with an heir, but he forgot his vow and the boy fell sick. When all hope of his life was lost, the Brâhmans said that some *deotâ* had caused his illness as a punishment for some ingratitude. The Râṇâ, thus reminded of the vow, invited the Nâg to Kunhiâr, and it is said that one man from every house in his dominions accompanied the Nâg to Kunhiâr. The Râṇâ, afraid to entertain

7 *I.e.,* *parach* is the revenue which is equal to 4 *pathas* of grain.

8 *Deotâ* and *sthân* a place, *i.e.,* 'two Deotas' place.'

so large an assemblage, soon permitted the *deotá* to return home, saying that he would not invite him again, as he was only a petty chief, but he presented him with 11 idols to be distributed among his temples. These images are called the Kanârtû *mohras.*

Padoî *deotâ* is the Nâg's adoptive brother, and Shaṛî Devî of Mathiânâ is his adoptive sister. The *deotá* Manan is also his adoptive brother, but this tie has only lately been created.

The Jadûn *deotá* sometimes goes to bathe at Malawan, a stream close to Jadân village, and he considers the Shungra Cave, where the Nâg goes and stays at night, his *tîrath* (place of pilgrimage).

Deotâ Nâg of Dhar holds from Kumhârsain a *jágîr* in Kandrû *pargana* worth Rs. 76-6-3.

Dum *deota* has a small temple at Kamali in Kundrû. A man from Gathri brought him to Kamalî. The Kamalî villagers alone accept Dum as their family god, though they respect the Nâg, seeing that they live in his dominions.

12. *The Deotá Nág of Dhalî* in *pargana* Chebîshî.—Not more than 500 years ago there was a temple in a forest at Tilku, where the *zamîndârs* of Dhâlî had broken up some land for cultivation. A *deotá* there harassed them and the Brahmans said that he was a Nâg, so they began to worship him and he was pleased. They then brought his image to Shaillâ village and built him a temple. When Padoî *deotá* passed through this village, a leper was cured by him and the people of Shaillâ began to worship him, so the Nâg left the village and Padoî took possession of his temple there. But the people of Dhalî took the Nâg to their own village and placed him in a temple. Padoî is now the family god of the Shaillâ people and the Dhalî men regard the Nâg as their family god.

The Nâg's image is jet black and a Bhâgwatî lives with him. A *dhol* and a *nakârâ* are his instruments of music, and he also has a *jagunth* or small staff. He visits his old place at Tilkû every year on the Nâg Panchamî day. He is only given *dhûp-dîp* once a month on the Shankrânt day. The Brahmans of Barog, which lies in another *pargana*, worship him, as they once lived at Khechṛû near Tilkû. This Nâg has no *bhoṛ* and holds no *jâgîr* from the State. He has no connection with Kalwâ Nâg of Kandrû.

13. *The Deotâ Nâg of Dhanâl* in Chebîshî.—Another Nâg *deotá* is he at Dhanâl in Chebîshî *pargana.* Nearly 500 years ago he appeared in a field at Nâgo-thâna a place near Pâtî Jubar on the Shângrî State border, where there was an old temple. A man of Dhanâl village was ploughing his field near Nâgo-thâna when he found a black image. He took it home, but some days afterwards it began to persecute him and the Brâhmans said that it was a Nâg who wished to be worshipped, so the Dhanâl people began to affect him. This *deotâ,* too, has a *dhol* and *karnál,* but no *jagunth.* No *khin* is given him. The Dhanâl people regard Malendû as their family god, yet they worship the Nâg too in their village thinking that he protects cattle and gives plenty of milk etc. He has no *bhoṛ* and holds no *jâgîr* from the State.

The people of Kandrû think that these Nâgs in Dhanál and Dhalî are the same as Kalwâ Nag. The spirits came here also, but the Chebîshî men do not admit the fact. This Nâg has really no connection with Kalwâ Nâg of Kandrû.

14. *The Deotá Nâg* of *Ghundâ.*—Ghundâ village in Chagâon *pargana* of Kumhârsain is inhabited by Râjput Miâ s, who trace their ancestry to the old Bairat family, which once had held the *râj* of Sirmûr. When their ancestor came from Sirmûr; they brought with them an image (probably of their family god at that time) and made a temple for him at Ghundâ. A Nâg, who is another *deotá* of Ghundâ, also resides with this *deotá* of Sirmûr.

This Nâg is called Shirgul. His history as follows :—Many generations ago there lived in village Charolî (in Koṭ Khâî) a Brâhman, whose wife gave birth to a serpent. This serpent used to come from a great distance to the Nâga Nalî forest in Kumhârsain and loved to play in a *maidán* near Kothî. Cows grazed in the *maidán* and the serpent sucked their milk. The cowherd was daily reprimanded by the people for his, carelessness, but at last he found

that the serpent used to suck the milk. A *faqîr* in Kothî village then determined to kill the serpent, so he came to the *maidân* at noontide and cut the serpent into three pieces, but he was burnt alive whilst killing it. Some days later a woman, who was digging clay, found some images, into which the three pieces of the serpent had turned. One of these images was brought by Brâhmans to Ghundâ village, another was taken to Bagi (a village in Chajolî in Kumhârsain) and a third was taken by the Brâhmans of Bhanwâṛâ, a village in the Ubdesh *pargana* of Kumhârsain, while temples were built to the Nâg in these villages. The Ghundâ Nâg (though usually *dudhâdhârî*) is not *dudhâdhârî* and goats are sacrificed to him.

Every third year a *baltî pûjâ melâ* is held, but no annual fair. The people of Ghundâ, Chaṛyânâ, Kotlâ, Kothî and Katâlî, especially the Kolîs, worship him. This Nâg *deotâ* has a grant of land worth Rs. 2-2-6 a year from Kumhârsain.

15. *The Nâg of Bagî.*—No notes have been preserved of this *deotâ*.

(*To be continued.*)

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## SONGS AND SAYINGS ABOUT THE GREAT IN NORTHERN INDIA.

BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., F.B.A.

### Prefatory Note.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

MANY years ago the late Dr. William Crooke handed over to me a long MS. collection of songs collected in the United Provinces for publication. They required a good deal of working up, but I published four series of them in 1910—1911 (Vols. XXXIX and XL) about Religion, the King of Oudh, and the Mutiny and other subjects. I find among his papers two other categories left, about great personages and marriage ceremonies. These I propose to publish now.

I.

### The Ballad to Râjâ Darshan Siṅh.

(*Recorded by the teacher of Akbarpur School, District Fyzabad.*)

This ballad is sung in honour of Râjâ Darshan Siṅh who helped the Bâbû of Kharparâ Dih (District Fyzabad), when he was attacked by Sarb Damân Siṅh, Harpâl Siṅh and Sheo Denî Siṅh.

*Text.*

Abi kî ber Râjâ Bâbû ko utârô ; deswâ meṅ eâkâ tohâr ho.
Kaunî taraf ghere Sarab Damân Siṅh ? Kaunî taraf Harpâl ho ?
Kaunî taraf ghere Biriyâ Sheodânî Si h ? Nikarai na kukur bilâr ho.
Pûrab taraf ghere Sarab Damân Siṅh : phatkâ ghere Harpâl ho.
Khirkî meṅ ghere haiṅ Biriyâ Sheo Denî Siṅh ; nikarai na kukur bilâr ho.
'Mohan, Mohan,' goharawaiṅ sab beldârân ke sardâr ho,
'Jaldî se chayyâ pitâ de re Bisohî, mân lashkar utare hamâr ho.'
Sâṅghî bhâge Sarab Damân Siṅh : âdhî rât bhâge Harpâl ho.
Hat bhinsâr bhâge Biriyâ Sheo Denî Siṅh : Chhut gaye Bâbû kâ duâr ho.

*Translation.*

Râjâ, save the Bâbû this time, and win thereby eternal fame for thyself.
Which side is Sarab Damân Siṅh blockading ? Which side is Harpâl ?
Which side is blockading Biriyâ Sheo Denî Siṅh ? Neither dog nor cat can come out.
Sarab Damân Siṅh blockades the East : Harpâl the gate.
Biriya Sheo Denî Siṅh blockades the wicket : neither dog nor cat can come out.
All the chiefs of the *beldârs* called out :—"Mohan, Mohan, [1]
Get the bridge of boats over the Bishohî [2], so that our [3] army can cross over."

---

[1] Some hero of the defenders at the fight.
[2] A river flowing by the village of Khanarâ Dik.
[3] That is, Râjâ Darshan Siṅh's army

Sarab Damân Siṅh fled in the evening[4] : Harpâl fled at midnight.
At dawn fled Biriyâ Sheo Denî Siṅh; and the gate of the Bâbû was freed (from his enemies).

II.

**A Song about Amar Siṅh.**

*(Collected by Ramgharîb Chaube.)*

*Text.*

Amar Siṅh to amar chaye, janai sakal jahân.
Shâh Akabbar ke god meṅ mârâ Salâbat Khâṅ.
Amar ke kamar meṅ zahar kî katârî :
Jodhâ ne garhâî, Bîkâner saṅwvâî.
Miyâṅ Salâbat ke dun meṅ darâk darâk de gaî.
Hâth jor, rânî kahai : " umrâoṅ ki kâtil ho gaî."

*Translation.*

Amar Singh has become immortal,[5] as all the world knows.
In the very presence[6] of Akbar Shâh he slew Salâbat Khâṅ.
In Amar's waist was a poisoned dagger,
Made in Jodhpur and polished in Bikaner.
He drove it quickly into Miyâṅ Salâbat's heart.
Said (Amar Singh's) *rânî*, with joined hands :—" there has been murder of a noble[7]."

III.

**The Ballad of Jagatdeo Ṭhâkur Paṅwâr of Jarârî.**

*(Recorded by Jayannâth Prasâd, teacher of the Village School, Rasûlâbâd, District Cawnpore.)*

This hero is now a godling, and as the ballad records his fight with the Mughals, that action may account for his deification.

*Text.*

Jagat ke lilawai thâṅbh lijô ré.
Jo koî baghiyâ meṅ hoyâ, Jagat ke lilawai thâṅbh lijo re.
" Lilabâ ko charhibo, re Jagat, chori dejo : kamal ko chori, dharo shamsher."
" Lilawâ ko charhibo na chhûtai, ri Mâtâ Jalanî : kammar nahîṅ chhûtai, nahîn shamsher."
Âm, nîm, mahuâ lakhrânwa rahe Jagat, chali sewâ mâṅ.
Kaun lagâye re âm, nîm, mahuâ lakhrâweṅ ? Kaune sâgar khodâye re ?
Langûr lagâye re am, nîm mahuâ lakhrâweṅ : Jagatâ sâgar khodâye re.
Mughal parâye re gaṛh sâgar, chaurî maraî piyâs
Kâhe ko devî kî pakhwariyân ? Kâhe ke jhâṅjh ?
Kâhe korang cholanâ ? Kahe ko hâr ?
Kâthkî re devî pakhwariyâṅ : kaṅskut kî jhâṅjh.
Harî dariâî ko rang cholanâ : laungâṅ ko hâr.
Kaun le âwai re devi devî-pakhwar-iyâṅ ? Kaun le âwaire jhâṅjh ?
Kaun le âwai re rang cholanâ ? Kaun le awai re hâr ?
Barhâî to le âwai re devî pakhwariyâṅ : sunârâ to le âwai re jhâṅjh.
Darzî to le âwai re rang cholanâ : mahiyâ to le âwai re hâr.
Khatkhat âwai re devî ko pakhwâriyâṅ : bajat âwai jhâṅjh.
Ghumrat âwai re rang cholanâ : manhkat awai hâr.
Ûnt saje re : hathîyâṅ sajî rî : sajî haiṅ Mughal kî phaujain, aur Jagato aswâr.
" Jag atâ barâ mawâsî re : Jagatain lâwo bândhî : paisâ nâhiṅ ugâhan deyâ."

[4] That is, when Râjâ Darshan Siṅh's army had crossed the Bisohi.
[5] A play here upon the name Amar.
[6] *Lit.*, " in Akbar's lap."
[7] That is, " there will be very much vengeance."

Bhûtar teṅ nikasî re Jagatâ kî tiriyâ : "mahiṅ hathai de Mughalân ke pâs, aur tum sumiro Mahrânî."
Mathiyâ teṅ nikasî re devî kî âbhâ : san mukh hoyâ laṛai sardâ, bâyeṅ Hanumân.
Dahine ang larai Durgâ, aur mâri Mughal sar kinhe re dâri.
Hathiyâ, ghorawâ sab chhinâ lihiṅ re, aur Jagat rahe sewâ meṅ liptâyâ.

*Translation.*

Stop the dark horse of Jagat !
If any one is in the garden, let him stop the dark horse of Jagat.
"Leave off riding your dark horse, Jagat : leave off your blanket and put on a sword."
"I will not leave off riding the dark horse ; Mother Jalanî [8] nor will I leave off the blanket ; nor will I put on a sword."
Jagat was in her service among the mango, *nîm* and *mahuâ* trees.
Who planted the mango, *nîm* and *mahuâ* trees ? Who dug the tank ?
Monkeys planted the mango, *nîm* and *mahuâ* trees : Jagat dug the tank.
The Mughals made a fortress of the tank, and the cows died of thirst.
Of what are the goddess's sandals ? Of what her *jhâṅjh* [9] ?
Of what is her cloak ? Of what her garland ?
Her sandals are of wood : her *jhâṅjh* of bell-metal.
Her cloak is of green silk : her garland of cloves.
Who brought the goddess her sandals ? Who brought her *jhâṅjh* ?
Who brought her coloured cloak ? Who brought her garland ?
The carpenter brought her sandals : the jeweller her *jhâṅjh*.
The tailor brought her coloured cloak : the gardener her garland.
Sounding came the goddess's sandals : playing came her *jhâṅjh*.
Flying came her coloured cloak : smelling (sweetly) came her garland.
Ready with camels, ready with elephant, ready was the Mughal army and (so was) Jagat with his horse.
"Jagat is a great scoundrel : bring Jagat bound. He pays neither tribute nor taxes."
Then came Jagat's wife from within :—"I will face the Mughals and do you worship the Mahârânî [the goddess]."
Then came the spirit of the goddess out of the temple : in the front fought the goddess ; on the left Hanumân.
In the right army fought Durgâ, slew the Mughal and drove him back.
Their elephants and horses were all captured, and Jagat was left to serve [the goddess].

IV.

## A Saying in Praise of Rây Siṅh of Bîkâner.

*(Collected by Râm Gharîb Chaube.)*

*Text.*

Jal ûṅdâ ; thal ujale ; pâtâ mangal pes [bes].
Maiṅ balihârî wahî des ko, jahâṅ Râyâ Siṅh Naresh.

*Translation.*

The wells are deep ; the land is white ; and the leaves are auspicious.
I admire the country, where Râyâ Siṅh is ruler.

V.

## The Râjâs of Aghorî.

*Text.*

I.

Bhae tarwâ teṅ Bais : samâ peṛurîl Baghelyo.
Jângh jutt Karchull, katak Dillî le dolyo.

[8] Mâtâ Jalanî appears to be the name of the goddess of the shrine, in which Jagat is a godling serving her.
[9] A musical instrument.

Patâpit Parihâr : khet Gohalau âs juttâu.
Bhujâ dand Chauhân, sor Dillî dal bajjâu.
Raghunand [10] nand kabi tilak kâhu :—
" Sôm Bansh netrâhin thâyo :
Mâthe Chandel sausâr meṅ
Pramâl Râo râjâ bhâyo.

2.

Phaujaiṅ dalmalî ; mahâbalî hain Sujâṅ Shâh :
Mâre kûch galî : naqâr chhîn lujâ thâ.
Khâṅ muflis ke gumân gorê ganj nâm bare :
Baṛe sûban ke dharm dwâr diyâ thâ.
Jujh gae Sayyad : kharâb bhae aur log :
Sâr ke Nawâb, jo kharâb jâddâ piyâ thâ.
Pûchhatî haiṅ bîbî : " Are sunâ hai : Sujân Shâh ;
Agorî mati jâhû. Miyâṅ, maine manâ kîyâthâ.

3.

Kôu drigpâl mohîṅ lâl le mîlai misâl :
Kôu drigpâl âchhe âchhe hâthî ghoṛ le.
Kôu drigpâl jo bihâl trin dant dharai :
Kôu drigpâl râj bhûjat kishor le.
Kôu drigpâl sab dîn hin bhakh mulai nrip mân
Kahîn jîwâ ke nihor le.
Chakkwai Chandalâ sâk bandî Srî Râm bhanai ;
Râjâ jô Madan Shâh milai kharg zor le.

4.

Sang haiṅ Firang, jo umang jang jîtâbe ko ang.
Angrez bal dino haiṅ barâi soṅ.
Chamak sangîn, chamkat jaise bhân râe.
Dapat karat ghoṛâ duddhar sipâhî soṅ.
Paṛhaiṅ kabî Shubh Râm : " Pratâpî haiṅ Adal Shâh :
Kharaq ke chalâe dah karat nikâe soṅ.
Dasahu disâ ke dahlâne drigpâl rahlâne
Aur qabbar Chandel kî charhâî soṅ.

5.

Dal sâjî ki Bijaur ke Shâm Naresh ;
Pâkhar dârî hazâr se âyo.
Kunjal Shâh Agorî ke rakshak bâjî banâe
Ke bhâe charhâyo :—
" Dhas ke Girî Merû, Sumâr tarâiṅ pai hatâiṅ,
Na Chandel jahân loh lagâyo."
Judhî paryo Sardâr to Sengar Sâlibâhan ko
Bândhî ke kham gaṛâyo.

*Translation.*

1.

The Bais are sprung from the sole of the feet, the Baghels from between the navel and the pubes :
The Karchull. from the junction of the thighs, took their army to Delhi.
The Parîhârs are sprung from the back, the Gohlauts from the fields :

The Chauhâns are sprung from the arms and their fame was sounded in Delhi,
Says Raghunand the poet :—
" The Som Baush are sprung from the eyes,
The Chandels from the forehead, (of whom) in the world
Pramâl Râo has become a king." [10]

2.

His armies are very large and Sujân Shah was very powerful
He slaughtered in streets and lanes, and seized the (enemy's) drums.
He broke down the pride and wealth of the Khâñ,
And gave alms at his door to his followers.
The Sayyad fell in the fight and many people were ruined.
(The Sayyad) was Nawâb of Sâr, and he had drunk too much wine.
Said his wife to him :—" Listen here, Sujân Shâh,
The Agorî, go not, Miyâñ : I warned thee." [11]

3.

Some rulers meet the enemy with gold and rubies .
Some rulers with good elephants and horses.
Some rulers meet him with a blade of grass between their teeth.
Some rulers burn their estate and children.
Some rulers meet him with humility and in poverty to preserve their honour,
Giving up all hope of life.
Says Srî Râm : " the Chandel brave and reckless,
Like Râjâ Madan Shâh, meets (his enemy) with his strong swords. [12]

4.

His companions are Europeans, who have the spirit of victory.
The English hold his valour in respect.
His *sangîn* shines : it glitters like the sun.
He shouts to his horsemen with two-handed swords, as a roaring lion.
Says Shubh Râm, the poet : " Glorious is Adal Shâh. "
He destroys at once all that come under his sword.
All the rulers of the ten quarters tremble
When the news of the Chandel's (attack) had come.[13]

5.

Shâm Naresh of Bijaur arranged his army.
And came to make a fight.
Kunjal Shâh, protector of Aghorî. beat his drums.
That his brethren might come up.
" May Mount Meru sink, and Sumâr stir from its place
If the Chandal (cannot be) where the fight is."
In the fight fell Sardâr Seugar Sâlibâhan
And they buried him in the ditch.[14]

*(To be continued.)*

10 This stanza purports to explain that Râjâ Pramâl Râo of Aghorî was a true Râjput of the Chauhân clan, and to give the legendary origin of the Râjputs of the Solar Line from parts of the body of the Sun (Soma) as a god.

It also explains that the writer was a poet named Raghunand. Later stanzas purport to have been written by other poets. So that the whole poem is really a collection of stanzas by different authors.

11 This stanza has no connection with the first, and relates a victory of Sujân, Prince of Aghorî, over the Nawâb of Sâr, a Sayyad.

12 Here again is another stanza by one Srî Râm about another chief of Aghorî, Râjâ Madan.

13 Here the stanza is about Adal Singh Chandel of Aghorî in British times, and it is by one Shubh Râm.

14 This stanza relates the fight between Kunjal Singh of Aghori, a Chandel, with Shâh Naresh of Bijaur, in which a Sardâr, Seugar Sâlibâhan, fell.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

"A Forgotten Empire.' By R. Sewell George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

We welcome the issue of a reprint of "A Forgotten Empire" by Mr. Robert Sewell, well known as the author of various works bearing upon the archæology and history of South India. Sewell was the first to recover from oblivion the history of the empire of Vijayanagar which he truly called the "Forgotten Empire" in 1900. It is nearly a quarter of a century since that book has become rare. It is therefore time that so important a work was brought out in a new edition. Owing to advancing age and perhaps intermittent health it has not been possible for Mr. Sewell to revise the book and bring it up-to-date. Nevertheless the reprint is quite welcome as it contains a translation of two important Portuguese chronicles which Mr. Sewell himself translated into English and published for the first time. As a matter of fact, Mr. Sewell's work upon this important subject does not claim to be much more than the chronicles with an elaborate historical introduction containing all the information brought to notice up to the time of the first publication.

Considerable advance however has been made in our knowledge of the history of Vijayanagar since the book was first published. Apart from the inscriptional and archæological work embodied in the Epigraphist's Reports and South Indian Inscriptions, there have been some works written on the subject in various branches which have contributed to advance our knowledge of the history of Vijayanagar considerably. The first of such to be mentioned happens to be a work of the Government Epigraphist Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastrigal. He contributed three articles to the Director-General's Report of the Archæological Survey of India, entitled the dynasties of Vijayanagar and its Viceroys, which incorporates all the epigraphical information brought to light by his own department. Next in importance is the publication of an account of the Hampi ruins by Mr. Longhurst, the Assistant Superintendent of Archæology, Madras, who has been for years at work putting the ruins of the city of Vijayanagar in some order for visitors. It is a informing handbook for those who wish to visit the ruins with some little guidance for an intelligent appreciation of various parts of it. Then must be mentioned "A Little-known Chapter of Vijayanagar history" published in the Mythic Society's Journal and since made available in a small book by the Professor of Indian History and Archæology at the University of Madras. This work deals with the dark period of Vijayanagar history from the death of the great Devaraya II to the accession of greater Krishnadevaraya. New sources of information have been brought to bear on the question and that work was followed by "Sources of Vijayanagar History" containing about 100 extracts from various works of literature, Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu bearing upon this history which forms a very important supplement, throwing valuable light on obscure corners of both Sewell's History and Ferishta's History. Another important topic which has been satisfactorily worked out in the History Department of the Madras University is the solving of the riddle of the foundation of Vijayanagar in a work entitled South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. Any History of Vijayanagar to be up-to-date must take note of these importent contributions and incorporate much other material now available.

Apart from these there is much else that is coming to light and may become available in course of time for historical use. A considerable volume of records in Spanish, French and Portuguese have not been adequately exploited, and the Revd. H. Heras, S.J., of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is at work upon a file of Spanish records which is likely to throw a flood of light upon the history of the more obscure part of Vijayanagar History. A valuable publication on the subject from his hand may be expected very soon.

Notwithstanding these new advances in the investigation of the history of Vijayanagar Mr. Sewell's work is still welcome, as the reprint is issued in a cheaper form and brings the work within reach of a large number of readers. The only things that are lost from the original editions are the illustrations, but that is largely compensated for by the reduction in the price, the book being now available for 10 shillings.

S. K. Aiyangar.

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Les Origines de la Famille et du Clan; by James George Frazer. Translated into French by La Comtesse J de Pange. Annales du Musée Guimet. Tome XXX. Paul Geuthner, Paris. 1922.

This volume of 185 pages is a translation of the conclusions set forth in the fourth volume of Sir James Frazer's monumental work *Totemism and Exogamy*, which was published in 1910. Sir James Frazer himself contributes a preface in French, in which he explains the reasons why he has styled this abridged translation "Origins of the Family and the Clan" instead of "Origins of Totemism and Exogamy," which would have been more correct. Readers, who are acquainted with the English original in four volumes, will scarcely need information regarding the contents of this abridged publication, which gives the results of Sir James Frazer's investigations into the enormous volume of evidence on the subject of the marriage customs and beliefs of primitive and uncivilised races. Let it suffice to remark, as the author himself says, that the

translation has been carried out by the Comtesse de Pange "avec une clarté et une précision parfaites et dignes destraditions littéraires de son illustre lignée."

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN. By W. J. PERRY, M.A., Methuen & Co., Pt. XIV and 551. 8vo.

The late Dr. Rivers once remarked to me, "We are coming back to the point of the view of the 'Lost-Tribeists'." Those who everywhere saw traces of the Lost Tribes of Israel, in Mexico, in Peru, in Ireland and where not, were sound in their main principle, however madly they might work it out: everywhere they found astonishing similarities—pyramids, sun-gods, and sun kings, and so forth—and they looked upon these as evidences of a common ancestry. Unfortunately the men who took up these researches were usually quite untrained in the methods of historical work; they were often in addition strange spirits rendered stranger by long residence in the tropics and in solitude; they were cranks with more enthusiasm than discretion, and their crudities frightened the naturally timid scholar, who is only too apt to overlook a good proposition in his alarm at the extravagances with which it is overloaded. Then came the psychological tendency inaugurated by Tyler, who immensely enlarged our knowledge, but at the same time retarded our interpretation of the facts. We owe it to him that the anthropologist began to be taken seriously and yet completely went astray. We are coming back however to the Lost Tribes point of view without the lost tribes and with an increasing accuracy and sobriety of speculation. On the one hand the exact scholar and archæologist is losing his prejudice and is less fearful of the comparative method; on the other hand the anthropologist is ever more inclined to take the scholar as his model of method. Mr. Perry's book marks a notable advance in this direction. I will not say he has completely bridged over the gulf between the two parties; in fact there are many things in this book which will indispose those whose attention is concentrated on detail rather than general correctness. The author for instance does not appreciate sufficiently the importance of *Quellen-Kritik*. Take the Pacific, he accepts without reserve the theories of Polynesian students, little realizing how little *critique* they themselves possess. He repeats the statement that the Hawaiians came from Tahiti: this statement, common enough among writers on Polynesia, rests on no fact beyond the claim made by all Polynesians to come from Kahiki, Tahiti, Tawhiti, or Tafiti; there is no evidence that this is Tahiti; it is merely the name of the original home which gave its name to Tahiti and Fiji, just as London, Plymouth, Dunedin, and countless towns of Great Britain have been godfathers to new towns in the Anglo-Saxon world. That is a mere detail; what does it matter whether the Hawaiians came from Tahiti or not? But then, why load a good argument with facts that are neither correct nor relevant? It is more serious when on pp. 106 ff. he repeats a most circumstantial account of the wanderings of the Polynesian in innocence of the fact that writers on Polynesia seldom distinguish their facts from their theories and that their theories lag very little behind those of the Lost-Tribeists. Even that does not affect the argument: there is plenty of evidence for an eastward movement in the Pacific without dragging in details which are too precise to be accurate.

Polynesia is so little known that mistakes there are of little consequence. But when we come to India we have an army of the most ruthlessly exact scholars of the world lying in wait for any slip. When the author states (p. 155) that "India owes most of its civilization to the Dravidians," he will be asked what his evidence is, whether he is aware that even at the extreme south of India an ordinary illiterate cooly can scarcely speak more than a few sentences without using a Sanskrit word, that if he can read and write, it is thanks to the inventors of the Sanskrit alphabet, and then he will possibly read a translation of the *Râmâyaṇa* or the *Purâṇas*; he goes to the theatre to hear a translation of Śakuntalâ or Hariscandra, and to the temple to worship gods with Sanskrit names; in fact he calls his religion the Veda. Doubtless his gods are often aboriginal gods which he has identified with those of the dominant people; but that alone shows how enormous was the prestige of the Sanskritic culture. One might as well say that the Romans scarcely influenced Gaul as that the Aryans made little impression upon the culture of the conquered races. Mr. Perry might also be asked where he gets his information that the "Aryans made no stone images, but such are common among the Dravidians." I look in vain through the list of authorities for the names of Burgess, Grünwedel, Foucher, Marshall, or any other noted Indian archæologist I can think of; so it is not surprising that Mr. Perry does not know that the earliest South Indian sculpture is Buddhistic and affiliated just like the earlier Northern School to the Græco-Persian and the Greco-Buddhistic tradition.

Even these inaccuracies, though bearing on very important points, do not affect the main argument, but they will no doubt cause many a rigid disciplinarian who exalts the negative quality of accuracy above the positive virtues of enthusiasm, courage, and breadth, to close the book with a bang and read no further, thus missing the really important contributions this book has made to the history of civilization. For when all is said and done the archaic civilization has come to stay. Mr. Perry's views may be modified, his "culture sequences" may want revision, but the broad fact

remains of a culture involving megaliths and solar kings spreading from one end of the world to the other, or rather I should say "cultures"; for Mr. Perry considers general features and therefore the genus only, and ignores the species and varieties. For a start that is of little consequence; if, as I believe, civilization is one, and if all the successive waves that have spread in early times across the Indian Ocean and across the Pacific have received their impetus from one centre, it is of little importance at the start whether we speak of an archaic civilization or civilizations. The analysis comes later.

The thesis is, however, not altogether new, though amplified, modified for the better and supported by abundance of new evidence. It is in the chapters on the Dual Organization and those that follow that I see Mr. Perry's most valuable contributions. I am glad to see that he has definitely broken with the old theory that the dual organization is "primitive". He connects it with the archaic civilization. Mr. Perry quotes a mass of evidence quite sufficient to show that it is by no means a clumsy and inadequate contrivance to prevent incest, but merely one cog in a big wheel of doctrine, though all the complications of the wheel do not appear. The main doctrine, the division of society into sky and earth people, is clearly stated and the origin of heaven and hell is sufficiently indicated. Mr. Perry however has made a common mistake of describing the earth people as the "common people"; Sanskrit scholars fall into the same error when they translate *viś* by "common people." It is clear *viś* could not refer to the masses, since it applies to the third degree of twice-born; below them came the *śûdra*, or uninitiated, whose upper ranks were respectable enough to hold appointments at a Vedic court[1]. For a long time I made the mistake of attaching to the Fijian expression "The People of the Land" the same meaning as we should, until after long study I discovered it was merely a technical term for the lower half of the aristocracy, lower sometimes in everything, sometimes only in precedence.

As this is perhaps the most successful part of the Book I need not dwell on it, as the reader cannot do better than read it himself.

The twenty sixth chapter entitled Egypt marks a relapse. Why the author should want to trace all civilization to Egypt one fails to see. The arguments fail to convince. For instance the dual organization is derived from Egypt; but first we have to prove the existence of the dual organization there. I am quite willing to believe that the division of Egypt into North and South is an instance of the dual organization, but I want evidence. The arguments brought forward by the author would equally prove that England and Scotland are moieties of a dual society. The theory of the origin of the hostility between the moieties is a very lame one: it fails to recognize its sporting character and above all its close connection with the sacrifice. Mr. Perry thinks it was the disrupting factor in the archaic society: but in Fiji the rivalry of intermarrying tribes is the cement that binds society together: it is the foundation of trade, or rather their substitute for it, of sport, of alliances, of good fellowship. It may have degenerated, but its degeneration was the result and not the cause of decadence. The phenomenon of decadence is a universal one that attacks all societies in all climates and all ages; we do not know the causes, but the symptoms are familiar to all students of the history of art; and I fail to understand why malaria, hook worm, or the dual organization should be invoked to explain why one people underwent a fate which is common to all.

In the conclusion our interest revives: one may or may not agree with the author, but the chapter is stimulating and presents new points of view. One confusion to which I demur is that between a warlike spirit and cruelty. The most warlike people I have met may have been unfeeling, but never actively cruel; on the whole I have found them kindly and good natured; the most unwarlike people I have come across has also been the most cruel. Whatever I have read or heard about the races of the world confirms my experience that on the whole the most warlike are the least cruel. The Fijians were extreme cannibals, yet murder is almost unknown among them; the Sinhalese are Buddhists, but hold the British Empire record for murder. This incidentally supports the author's contention that war is a custom and not an instinct, since the passion for war and the lust to kill are not directly proportionate, but, if anything, inversely so. Mr. Perry's contention will meet with violent opposition from the psychological school, but I am confident he will prove right, if by war is meant only organized warfare, and not private brawls.

The whole idea of civilization being an education in certain tendencies is a fruitful one. Being new it is bound to be imperfectly applied in parts; but I think it will appear more and more that much which we have always put down to nature will turn out to be the result of ages of training.

A most extensive bibliography follows the text and would alone be a valuable contribution to the comparative student.

A. M. HOCART

[1] *Satapatha Brâhmana*, V. 3. 1. The low condition of the Śûdras has been exaggerated owing to the contempt poured upon them by the Brahmans But firstly, the Brahmans were insuflerably conceited; secondly, do not all the more genteel of our own Śûdras spend most of their time trying to prove that they are not middle class? And is not *bourgeois* a term of reproach, although the term applies to all but a very few of the upper classes?

# WADDELL ON PHŒNICIAN ORIGINS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

## 1. General Argument.

THE well-known Tibetan scholar, L. A. Waddell, has spent the leisure of the greater part of a long official life, and the last twenty years entirely, in studying " the fascinating problem of the lost origin of the Aryans," and has at last produced a startling book, " *The Phœnician Origin of Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons,* discovered by Phœnician and Sumerian inscriptions in Britain by pre-Roman Briton coins and a mass of new History." Such is his own title and it speaks for itself. A perusal of the book shows that he is of the diffusionist school of anthropologists, of which Elliot Smith and Perry are shining lights, and therefore antagonistic to the older school of searchers. The whole book is in fact subversive of accepted ideas, but that is not a reason for setting it aside summarily, especially as the writer has spent so much research for so many years on it, and is himself obviously convinced of the truth of the results of his work. I therefore propose now to examine them in detail.

On a careful perusal, the great weakness of the book shows itself in the etymologies which constantly crop up, and this is all the more to be deplored, because the whole argument is based upon a personal reading of inscriptions on stones and coins, which is new and differs from those previously made. I am tempted here to give once more an old quotation : " There is a river in Macedon and also moreover a river in Monmouth, and there is salmons in both." This is not a wise way of making comparisons, and it seems to me that Waddell is only too prone to fall into this class of error. But to this quotation I would propose to attach another from Waddell's book itself :—" Although the old tradition, as found in the Books of Ballymote, Lecan, Leinster, etc., is mainfestly overlaid thickly with legend and myth by the mediæval Irish bards, who compiled these books from older sources, and expanded them with many anachronisms, and trivial conjectural details introduced by uninformed later bards to explain fanciful affinities on an etymological basis ; nevertheless, we seem to find in these books a residual outline of consistent tradition, which appears to preserve some genuine memory of remote prehistoric period."

Indeed, it seems to me that, though at first no doubt the old time scholar and philologist will be inclined to throw the whole book aside as fanciful, there may be substantial truth behind the theory. At any rate, whether right or wrong, Waddell's reading of his crucial inscription—that on the Newton Stone—is honest and therefore worth enquiry, and I call to mind the fate of the first European enquirers into Buddhism, who were totally disbelieved by scholars, with the result that the study of that great religion and the Pali language was put aside for too long a time. On this ground alone I propose seriously to study Waddell's subversive work and to see what it seems to contain without prejudiced comment. Personally I do not think he has proved his case by this book, but that is not to say that it is not capable of proof. It should, however, be stated here that as the truth of the assertion that the Phœnicians spread civilisation is not acknowledged by many competent scholars—the very matter of their dealings with Cornwall is in doubt—it will require ' a lot of proving ' as the police say. The late discoveries at Harappa and other places in the Panjab, and on the North Western Frontiers of India, showing communication between the inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates and that of the Indus some three milleniums B.C., do not to my mind affect Waddell's argument as regards the spread of Mesopotamian civilisation through Phœnicians to Britain.

With these remarks I turn to a consideration of the general argument. Waddell holds that :—

(1) Aryan civilisation is due to the Syrio-Phœnicians and dates back to about B.C. 3000 ;

(2) The Phœnicians were Aryans and not Semites by race, speech and script :

(3) The Phœnicians were lineal blood ancestors of the Britons and Scots; the Picts, Celts and Iberians being non-Aryans:

(4) There is in Scotland a bilingual Phœnician Inscription, dating about B.C. 400, and dedicated to the Sun-god Bel by a Cilician prince from Asia Minor, who calls himself Phœnician, Briton and Scot:

(5) This prince is the 'Part-olon, King of the Scots' of the chroniclers Geoffrey and Nennius (Ninian):

(6) King Brutus (Prat or Prwt), the Trojan, and his Briton colonists about B.C. 1103 dispossessed an earlier colony of kindred Britons in Albion and named the country Britain, the land of the Brits, where they left Phœnician and Sumerian inscriptions, which show the Phœnicians to be Aryan in race, speech and script:

(7) Their monuments also afford clues to the Phœnician and Hittite homeland of the Aryan Phœnician Britons in Syria, Phœnicia, and the Asia-Minor of St. George of Cappadocia and England:

(8) The Phœnicians, as the sea-going branch of the ruling race of the Aryans, diffused the higher civilisation throughout the world :—

(9) Many things peculiarly British are traceable to Phœnician origin; *e.g.*, St. George and the Dragon, the Red Cross of St. George, the Crosses of St. Andrew and St. Patrick, Britannia as a tutelary goddess, the Lion and the Unicorn:

(10) The whole family of Aryan languages, with their scripts including Ogam, are of Phœnician origin through Hittite and Sumerian, which last are synonymous terms:

(11) The earliest Aryan religion was Sun-worship, symbolising the One Universal God by the True Cross, as seen on the ancient Briton coins of the Catti and Cassi Kings of the pre-Roman and pre-Christian periods in Britain.

(12) The Phœnician colonists transplanted the old cherished homeland names from Asia Minor and the Phœnician colonies on the Mediterranean borders to Britain:

(13) They furnished the agricultural and industrial life of Britain and made London its commercial capital.

(14) They created the art of Britain on Hittite-Phœnician models:

(15) The Aryans of Britain, the Britons, are the Western Bharats[1], who are linked with the Eastern Bharats of India, whom Waddell calls the "Brit-ons of India."

(16) The Aryan Britons or British still inherit the sea-faring and commanding aptitudes of the Phœnicians and their maritime supremacy.

It will be seen at once how widely Waddell has cast his net and how much proof his contentions require. Let us see how he has gone to work on the vast problem he has set himself to solve. It will be seen from the very beginning that his method is startling.

The heading of the first chapter is as follows :—"The Phœnicians discovered to be Aryans in race and the ancestors of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons." And then he gives us two quotations from Indian works which are typical of his argument. I now quote them in full :—"'The able Panch (Phœnician), setting out to invade the Earth, brought the whole world under his sway.'—*Mahabharata*,[2] Indian Epic of Great Bharats. 'The Brihat (Brit-on) singers belaud Indra . . . . Indra hath raised the Sun on high in heaven . . . . Indra leads us with single sway.'—Rig Veda Hymn." To these quotations Waddell adds a note :—"On Brihat, as a dialectic Sanskrit variant of the more common Bharat and the source of Brit or Brit-on see later." We have here therefore the equivalence of Brihat and Bharat and Waddell's argument also is apparently that Brit-on derives from Brit = Bharat = Brihat. From Bharat comes Mahâbhârata. Bharat here in Sanskrit is, however, really Bharata, while Brihat is a method of writing Bṛhat, the derivative of which would be Bârhata and

[1] Waddell writes this name 'Barats.

[2] I shall throughout write *Bh* where Waddell has '*B*.

not Bharata, and *b* and *bh* are not necessarily alternative or even connected consonantal sounds. This consideration reacts also strongly on the interpretation of Panch (Panch-âla) as Phœnician, or Phœnician Brihat, on the ground that Brihat=Brit-on. The equivalence of Brit-on with Bharat or Bharata does not seem to me to rest on a secure basis.

It will be seen that this criticism goes to the very root of the argument. However, let us now proceed to see how Waddell sets to work to support his opening statement. He takes as his starting point "the newly deciphered Phœnician inscription in Britain"—the Newton Stone—which he says is "dedicated to Bel, the Phœnician god of the Sun," by "Part-olon, King of the Scots," about B.C. 400, calling himself "Brit-on, Hitt-ite, Phœnician and Scot, by ancient forms of those titles." He also gives an illustration of the presumable personal appearance of the king from "bas-reliefs in the temple of Antiochus I of Commagene, B.C. 63-34." He calls the illustrations (there are two), "Cilician king worshipping the Sun-god," saying "these two representations of the same scene, which are partly defaced, complement each other. The King, who is shaking hands with the Sun-god (with a rayed halo) presumably illustrates the dress and physique of the Sun-worshipper King Prat or Prwt, who also came from the same region."

It is important to go right into the foundations of the argument, and I draw attention, therefore, to the statements that the inscription on the Newton Stone is "newly deciphered," and to the facts that in the preface Waddell says "it is now deciphered for the first time," and that the illustration from the temple of Antiochus I of Commagene is said to illustrate *presumably* the appearance of the author of the Newton Stone. I do so because the connection of Brit with Bharat and of Part-olon with the Cilician King of the illustration is assumed by Waddell from the very beginning.

He then describes how he attacked "the Aryan problem" from its "Eastern or Indo-Persian end," finding "that there was absolutely no trace of any civilisation, *i.e.*, Higher Civilisation in India before the seventh century B.C.," and that "historic India, like historic Greece, suddenly bursts into view, with a fully fledged Aryan civilisation." He says that he was led "by numerous clues to trace these Aryan, or as they called themselves Arya, invaders of India back to Asia Minor and Syro-Phœnicia." And he next makes, as regards his argument, a crucial statement:—"I then observed that the old ruling race of Asia Minor and Syro-Phœnicia from immemorial time was the great imperial highly civilised ancient people generally known at the Hitt-ites, but who called themselves Khatti or Catti, which is the self-same title, by which the early Briton Kings of the pre-Roman period called themselves and their race, and stamped it upon their Briton coins—the so-called Catti coins of early Britain. And the early ruling race of the Aryans who first civilised India also called themselves Khattiyo." After this he says that "this ancient Khatti or Catti ruling race of Asia Minor or Syro-Phœnicia also called themselves Arri, with the meaning of Noble Ones." The Arri he equates with Arya or Ariya of India, and the Khatti with the Goths—"the Scyths or Getæ, the Greeco-Roman form of the name Goth," as shown by the dress of "the early Khatti, Catti or Hitt-ites from the bas-reliefs of the Iasili rock-chambers below Boghaz-koi or Pteria in Cappadocia." Here the equations are increasing thus:—Hitt-ite= Khatti=Catti=Getæ=Goth, and the Hitt-ites are also Arri = Ariya = Arya. These equations are carried still further. The ancient Egyptian and Babylonian names for Hitt-ites is Khatti, taken to Britain as Catti, *vide* pre-Roman British coins, and the Old Testament Hebrew (days of Abraham) name is Hitt or Heth.

Then comes another crucial statement:—"The identity of these Khatti Arri or Hitt-ites, with the Eastern branch of the Aryans [of India] . . . . is now made practically certain by my [Waddell's] further observation that the latter people also called themselves in the Epics by the same title as the Hitt-ites, . . . . Khattiyo Ariyo, in their early Pali vernacular, and latterly Sanskritised it by the intrusion of an *r* into Kshatriya Arya . . . . and the

Indian names Khattiyo, Kshatriya] have the same radical meaning of 'cut and rule' as the Hitt-ite Khatti has." This argument, together with that already alluded of Bharat=Brit, "practically establishes the identity of the Khatti or Hitt-ite with the Indo-Aryans and discloses Cappadocia in Asia Minor as the lost cradle-land of the Aryans." I would note here that there is an assumption that Pali preceded Sanskrit as a language, and that Khattiya is an older and purer form than Kshatriya.

We have, however, in the above statement Waddell's master key leading to "the complete bunch of keys" to the lost early history of the Indo-Aryans and the Hitt-ites. The first key of the branch is historical. He starts by saying that the Brahmans take the Epic and Pauranic lists of kings as Indian, but that European scholars ignore them. Here I cannot agree with him : *e.g.*, Pargiter. However, Waddell states that "none of these early Aryan kings had ever been in India, but were kings of Asia Minor, Phœnicia and Mesopotamia centuries and milleniums before the separation of the Eastern branch to India." This is startling enough, but a still more startling statement follows :—"The father of the first historical Aryan king of India (as recorded in the Mâhâ Bhârata Epic and Indian Buddhist history) was the last historical king of the Hitt-ites in Asia Minor, who was killed at Carchemish on the Upper Euphrates on the final annexation of the last of the Hitt-ite capitals to Assyia by Sargon II in B.C. 718." Further "the predecessors of the Hitt-ite king, as recorded in cuneiform monuments of Asia Minor and in Assyrian documents back for several centuries, were substantially identical with those of the traditional ancestors of the first historical Aryan king of India, as found in the Indian Epic king-lists." Alas! "full details with proofs" are in the "forthcoming" book on *Aryan Origins :* so we cannot investigate this amazing statement here. But "the absolute identity of the Indian branch of the Aryans with the Khatti or Hitt-ites is established [thereby] by positive historical proof."

Waddell makes still further observations. Several of the leading earlier Indian Aryan dynasties have substantially the same names, records and relative chronological order as several of the leading kings of early Mesopotamia, "the so-called Sumerians or Akkads." This is the point where apparently the Sumerian finds his way into this account of the origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons. The proof of this statement also is in *Aryan Origins*, but the observation supplies the key "to the material required for filling up the many blanks in the early history of ancient Mesopotamia in the dark and 'pre-historic' period there, and also in early Egyptian history and pre-history as well."

However, startling statements have not yet ceased, and it is necessary to quote at length again :—"the Eastern or Indian branch of the Aryans, the Khattiyo Ariyo Bharats call themselves in their Epic, the *Mahâ-Bhârata*, by the joint clear title of Kuru Panch(âla)—a title which turned out to be the original of Syro-Phœnician. These Kuru and Panch(âla) are described as the two paramount kindred and confederated clans of the ruling Aryans." And Waddell then observes that "Kur was the ancient Sumerian and Babylonian name for Syria and Asia Minor of the Hitt-ites or White Syrians, and it was thus obviously the original of the Suria of the Greeks softened into Syria of the Romans." But was there any softening ? Surely 'Syria' was only the Roman way of writing the Greek 'Suria.' Then says Waddell in a paragraph worth quoting, whatever opinion may be formed of the argument :—"Whilst Panch(âla) is defined in the Indian Epics as meaning 'the able or accomplished Panch, in compliment, it is there explained, of their great ability—also an outstanding trait of the Phœnicians in the classics of Europe. This discloses Panch to be the proper name of the ruling Aryan class, whom I [Waddell] at once recognised as the Phœnic-ians, the Fenkha or Panag or Panasa sea-going race of the Eastern Mediterranian of the ancient Egyptians, the Phoinik-es of the Greeks and the Phœnic-es of the Romans."

The 'Panch' clan were devotees "of the Sun and Fire cult associated with worship of the Father-god Indra," and "the Hitto-Phœnicians were special worshippers of the Father-god Bel, also called by them Indara, who was of the Sun-cult." Both Panch and Phœnician were foremost among sea-going peoples. They were "sometimes called Krivi in the *Vedas*, which word is admitted by Sanskritists to be a variant of Kuru, which, as we have seen, means 'of Kur' or 'Syria.' The early Phœnician dynasties in Syrio-Phœnicia, or 'Land of the Amorites' of the Hebrews, called themselves Khatti and Barat in their own still extant monuments and documents, dated back to about B.C. 3000." For proof we must wait for Waddell's *Aryan Origin of the Phœnicians*.

These are the arguments leading to the identity of the Phœnician Khatti Barats with Britons and Scots, and also with the Anglo-Saxons, "a later branchlet of the Phœnician the Britons." And lastly Waddell finds "the identity of the Aryans with the Khatti or Hittites confirmed by Winckler's discovery" in 1907, "at the old Hittite capital, Boghaz Koi in Cappadocia, of the original treaty of about B.C. 1400 between the Khatti or Hittites and their kinsmen neighbours in the East in ancient Persia, the Mita-ni," who he "found were the Medes, who were also famous Aryans and called themselves Arriya." Now "in this treaty they invoked the actual Aryan gods of the *Vedas* of the Indian branch of the Aryans and by their Vedic names." *E.g.*, the Vedic Sun-god Mitra, the Mithra of the Græco-Romans: also In-da-ra, who is "the Solar Indra or Almighty." However, Waddell says that "neither the Assyriologists now the Vedic scholars could be induced to take this view."

Such is the outline of the scheme of this remarkable book, and thereafter Waddell sets to work on the Phœnician ancestry of the Britons and Scots.

(*To be continued.*)

# SONGS AND SAYINGS ABOUT THE GREAT IN NORTHERN INDIA.

BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., F.B.A.

(*Continued from page* 117.)

## VI.

## A Contemporary Hindi Rhyme about Sivaji.

(*Colleted by Kâmgharîb Chaube.*)

*Text.*

Indra jim Jrimbh
Barawânal ambu par,
Râwan sudambh par,
  Raghu kul râj hai.
Pawan bâri bâh par,
Shambu Ratinâh par,
Jo Sahasrabâhun par,
  Râm dwijrâj hai.
Dâwâ drum dand par,
Chîtâ mrig jhand par,
(Bhûsan) bitand par,
  Jaise mrigrâj hai.
Têj tam ansh par,
Kânch jimî Kans par,
Taise ripu bansh par,
Aj Prithrâj hai.

*Translation.*

What Indra is to Jrimbh [15],
What Jarawânal [16] is to water,
To the proud Râwan
Is Raghu the King[17].
What wind is to the cloud,
What Shambu is to Kâma, [18]
To the Thousand-armed [19]
Is Râm of the double-kingdom [20].
What fire is to the forest,
What the leopard is to the herd of deer,
Is to the elephant the tiger (says Bhûsan [21]),
Such is the rule of the deer.
What light is to the darkness,
What Krishna is to Kansa, [22]
So to his foe's family
To-day is Prith-râj.[23]

VII.

**A Saying about Râjâ Mân.**

*Text.*

Pânch rang jhandâ hath banâ ; terî zanam banî zard :
Dokhî mâr dafe kiye : sokhî kinhe sard.
Ant Bhanwâr kâ kilâ toṛâ : aise Mân mard.

*Translation.*

Five-coloured flag in hand ; thy carpet yellow ;
Thou didst remove sinners, and make the hot-tempered cool.
Thou didst reduce the fort of Ant Bhanwâr : such a man was Mân.

VIII.

**A Song about Chhatrasâl Râjâ of Pannâ.**

(*Told by Bhagwant Prasâd, teacher of Dhimsri, District Agra.*)

*Text.*

Khainchî gurj mârai, pûjâ karat Râjâ Chhatrasâl :
Kholî metrâ dekhai so Mleksh âge âyâ hai.
Mârî shamsher, manahûṇ hâthî ke basundâ par—
Hâthî sundî dereṅ chhaṛî âyâ hai.
Kâtî daryo tang haudâ, dârî dayo bhûmin pai : tori dâryo mân ;
Than so Dillî pahunchayo hai.
Kâhâṅ haiṅ Sujan Balî : "dhanyâ Râjâ Chhatrasâl !
Terî shamshar jhelî pheri kaun âyâ hai "?

*Translation.*

He struck him with a mace, as Râjâ Chhatrapâl was worshipping.
Opening his eyes he saw a Musalman [24] standing before him.
He struck the man with his sword, as he would strike an elephant on its trunk—

[15] The name of a demon.

[16] Jarawânal is the fire-pit in which the water of the ocean is boiled till it evaporates. This is why the ocean never increases.

[17] Raghu is Râm Chandra.

[18] *I.e.*, Shiva to Kâma, the god of Love.

[19] Sahasrabâhu, the name of a demon.

[20] Here is meant Parasurâma.

[21] The name of the writer.

[22] Kansa, Krishna's maternal uncle, was killed by Krishna

[23] The ruler of the earth, *i.e.*, Shivaji.

[24] The vernacular term used is *Mleksh*, a barbarian.

An elephant that had strayed from its herd.
Then he threw down the howdah, threw it on to the ground, and broke off the head
And sent it off to Delhi.
Says Sujân Balî [25] :—Blessed art thou, Râjâ Chhatrasâl,
Who shall survive a blow from thy sword ? "

IX.

### In Praise of Akbar.

(*By Râm Dâs Kachhwâhâ—in Notes and Comments on the " Setubandh Kârya of Kâlîdâs " Communicated by Râmgharîb Chaube.*)

Râm Dâs Kachhwâhâ described himself as the servant of Akbar in every way.

*Text.*

Âmero râ samudrâwati yasumatin yah pratâpe na tâwat,
Dûre gâshyâti mṛtyo, rapi karam muchattîrath bânijya brityoh ·
Apya shraushit Purâṇam. japati cha din krimam, yogam bidhate ;
Gangâm bho bhinna mambho na piwati Jallâla-dindra.
Angam, Bangam, Kalingam, Silhat, Tipurâ, Kâmtâ, Kâmrûpâ ;
Nândhram, Karnât, Lât, Draviṇ, Marhat, Dwârikâ, Chol, Paṇḍyân ;
Bhotânnam, Maruwarôt, Kal, Malay, Khurâsân, Khandhâr, Jâmbu ;
Kâshî, Kâshmîr, Dhakkâ, Balakh, Badakshâ, Kâbilân, yah prashâsh.
Kaliyug mahimâ apchiya mâna shruti surabhi dwijdharm raksh nây ;
Dhṛit sagun tanum ; tam prameyam purush Makabbar Shah mantosmi.[26]

*Translation.*

He, who supports the earth from the ocean to Mount Meru,
And saves the kine from slaughter, and has exempted the sacred places and traders from taxes ;
Who has heard the Purâṇas recited, repeats the name of the Sun-god[27]. and performs *yoga* ;
Who drinks no water other than the Ganges, is Jallâlu'ddîn[28],
(Who rules over) Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Silhat, Tipurâ, Kâmtî and Kâmarûpa :
Nandhrâ, Karnâta, Lâtâ, Draviṇa, Marhata, Dwârikâ, Chola, Pâṇḍya :
Bhôṭa, Marwar, Urissa, Malaya, Khurâsân, Khandhâr, and Jâmbu ;
Kâshî, Kashmîra, Dhakka, Balkh, Badashân and Kabul[29]—may he prosper.
He who incarnated himself in the Kaliyug to protect the Scriptures, the cow and the twice-born,
And virtue, the sanctity of which is danger of warning ;
That is the personage to whom I bow in obeisance—Akbar Shah.

X.

### A Hindu Legend of Naurang Shah (Aurangzeb).

(*Told by Kewal Râm, goldsmith and Recorded by Jamiyat 'Ali, teacher, Saharanpur District.*)

There is a popular legend that Aurangzeb caused a palace to be built on the surface of the Jumna at Agra, in order to lower the sacred river in the estimation of the Hindus, and went to live in it with his queens. But soon there came up a fire out of the river and the Emperor and his queens were afraid of being burnt, and the Emperor himself went blind, which made the queens beg him to leave the place. And that is why he went to Delhi.

---

25 The name of the writer of the poem.

26 The text is exactly as transliterated by the Brahman, Râmgharib Chaube, and is given as a specimen of the modern idea of a Sanskrit text.

27 That is, Sûrya Nârâyaṇa.

28 The personal name of the Emperor Akbar

29 This list purports to name the principal districts in Akbar's Empire.

*Text.*

1.

Naurang Shâh Mughal charhî âyâ
Nau sau umare sâth bhun men ân datâ.
Is jag meṅ dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

2.

Sât taweloṅ kî nenwâ dilâyâ.
Jal meṅ chhoṛî kawal chune kâ chattâ gatâ.
Is jag meṅ dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

3.

Sât toṛoṅ ko phorke, nikase jal kî phailî ;
Jotî agin kî pharban latâ.
Is jag meṅ dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

4.

Bâdshâh ko andhâ kar diyâ.
Begam khaṛî rowain bhul gâîṅ mahalatâ.
Is jag meṅ dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

5.

Hath joṛke Begam kahatî :—
" Ab kî gunâh bakhsho ; bahut marâ huâ thattâ."
Is jag meṅ dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

6.

" Ja Dillî meṅ chhatar gaṛâyâ ; "
Nange paisoṅ âyâ, Badshah phir hatâ.
Is jag meṅ dewâ sajjan ka mân ghatâ

*Translation.*

1.

Came up Naurang Shâh, the Mughal,
With nine-hundred nobles he sat him on the ground.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

2

He laid the foundations of seven buildings.
He laid on the water a lotus of lime and bricks.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

3

Breaking through seven layers of iron, the light came out of the water,
And the fire raged, as in a forest.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

4

The Bâdshâh was made blind,
And the queens stood weeping and lost their way to the palace.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

5

Said the queens with joined hands :—
" Forgive this sin : the joke is killing us ."
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

6

Going to Delhi he set up his umbrella[30].
On naked feet they returned—the Bâdshâh went back.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

[30] That is, he set up his Court.

## LEGENDS OF THE GODLINGS OF THE SIMLA HILLS.

COLLECTED BY PANDIT SUKH CHAIN OF KUMHARSAIN
AND TRANSMITTED BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(*Continued from page* 113.)

### Fourth Group.—The Dum Family.

16. *The Deotâ Ḍum or Nagarkotiâ.*—The following details may be added to the brief account of Ḍum *deotâ* in *Hinduism in the Himalayas.* Ḍum of Katian (properly Gathan), a village in the Shillî *pargana* of Phâgu *tahsil* of Keunṭhal, is the brother of the Sharmalâ Ḍum *deotâ*.

The latter's history is as follows :—An old Kanet named Shurâ, living in Hemrî village (now *pargana* Chagâon in Kumhârsain), had no son. His wife Pârgî was also old and she asked her husband to marry a second wife in order to get a son, but Shurâ refused on account of his advanced age. His wife induced him to go to the goddess Hâtkotî Durgâ and implore her aid, threatening to fast even to death until she promised him a son. Shurâ reached Hâtkotî in seven days (though it was only a two day's journey) and sat before Durgâ Devî, fasting for seven days. The goddess was greatly pleased to see his devotion and appeared before him with all her attributes (the *sankh*, *chakkar*, *gaddâ*, *padam*, and other weapons in her eight hands) and riding on a tiger. She granted Shurâ's request and bade him return home. Overjoyed at this *bar* he went home and told his wife the good news, and after three months she gave birth to twin sons, but both parents died seven days later.

They were nursed by a sister named Kaprî. While quite young the orphans showed signs of superhuman power. Their sister, too, soon died and the boys were employed as cowherds by the people, but they were careless of their cattle and devoted themselves to their favourite game of archery. So the people dismissed first one and then the other. Both of them then took service with the Ṭhâkur of Darkotî, but again they were discharged for idleness. They then roamed the country seeking service, but no one would help them, and so they went down to the plains and reached Delhi, where they enlisted in the King's army. To test the skill of his archers, the King set up a *tâwâ*, from which hung a horse hair with a small grain in the centre. No one in the army could break the grain with an arrow, except these two recruits, and the King was greatly pleased with them. His Rani told him that the youths were not common soldiers, but possessed magical power, and should be dismissed to their native hills with a suitable reward. So he gave them a huge vessel (*cherû*) full of coins which they could not lift, and they were about to depart, when two *deotâs*, Mahâsû and Shrîgul, who were prisoners at Dehli,[9] appeared and called upon the brothers for help, as they belonged to the same hill country as they did, saying that if they petitioned the king for their release they would be set free.

The Ḍûm brothers implored the king for the *deotâs*' release and their request was granted. The *deotâs* were so pleased that they bade the youths ask of them any boon they liked, and they asked their help in carrying the vessel home. The *deotâs* told the brothers to mount their airy steeds, look towards the Kailâsh hills, touch the vessel, and whip their steeds. So they did and the airy steeds carried their riders high up in the sky, flying northwards over the hills and halting at Binu, a place near Gathan village. The gods went to their dominions and the vessel full of coin was buried at Binu where it turned into water, which was made into the *baolî*, now on the boundary of Kumhârsain and Keûnṭhal. The airy steeds disappeared on Mount Kailâsh, after leaving the young Ḍûms at Binu.

Binu then belonged to the Ṭhâkurs of Rajâna, and the Ḍûm brothers made themselves very troublesome to them, breaking with their arrows the *gharâs* full of water, which the women used to carry home on their heads, or setting their bundles of grass on fire. The

9 The *deotâs* Mahâsu and Shrîgul were said to be captives in Dehli for being 'devil' oppressors in the hills.

people became alarmed and at last the whole country side, with the Ṭhâkur, brought the brothers to bay in a battle, in which the elder, who was called Ḍûm, was killed. Kon the younger also died and both were cremated on the spot where they had fallen, but they emerged from the ashes in the form of idols.

These miraculous images punished the Ṭhâkur in many ways, haunting him in his sleep and overturning his bed. To appease the images as *pâp*, the Ṭhâkur conveyed them to Nagarkoṭ in Kullû, but when presented there before the goddess they vanished. The people were distressed at their loss and fasted before Durgâ until she made them reappear. So she gave them back the images, but some say that she gave them other images in lieu of the originals. Thereafter Ḍûm Deotâ was also called Nagarkoṭia Deotâ of Sharmallâ.

One image was brought to Sharmallâ where Ḍûm was established, while the image of Kon was taken to Gathan village. Temples were built for the residence of each. But some say that both images at those places were first established at Sharmallâ. People used to invite the Deotâs to their houses, but the Sharmallâ people refused to send them to Gathan, and so the people of the latter place stole one of the *deotâs* and established him there.

Sharmallâ Ḍûm has a cash grant of Rs. 16 annually from the Kumhârsain State. He is worshipped daily by Brâhmans, but his *gur* (the man into whom the spirit comes and through whom it speaks) is always a Kanet. The *deotâ* has his *kârdârs*, the chief among them being the *bhandârî* in charge of the stores. The Sharmallâ women call him by the pet name of Nanu, but other people call him Ḍûm. His annual *melâ* is held on the Bishû day in Baisâkh, but his *jâtrâ* is held every 7th or 8th year. When a new Rânâ ascends the *gaddî*, a Rajâolî *melâ* is held, and the *deotâ* tours in the villages of his devotees. A Shânt *melâ* is held every 50 years.

The *deotâ's* followers are found mostly in Ubdesh *pargana* and in the following villages:—Bagî in Bushahar, Durî in Khaneti, Bagru-Dhâr in Theog. Daro, Jalî and Rewag in Shillî are also villages devoted to his cult.

The Deotâ used to have a *melâ* at Shamokhar. Some say that while the *deotâs* Magneshwar, Koṭ Ishwar and Ḍûm sat in their respective places and the *melâ* began, the trio quarrelled, and so the *melâ* was forbidden to be held in the future by British Government order. The Dagroṭ people in consequence pay a *chershi* of Rs. 30 to Manan or Magneshwar every third year.

The *deotâ* helped Kumhârsain to gain its victory over Keuṅthal, and when besought by a Rânâ of Jubbal, blessed him with a son, for which the Rânâ presented him with a golden image. The original Ḍûm image was of brass, and a few smaller images have been added as its companions. The Ṭhâkur of Rajâna was also blessed with a son at an advanced age and he presented Ḍûm with a silver chain worth Rs. 140. The Deotâ is rich, having silver instruments (*narsinga* and *karnâl*) of music, while a necklace of gold *mohars* and gold ornaments always adorn him.

He is not *dudâdhârî*, but goats are sacrificed before him. He is believed by his devotees to be a very powerful god, blessing the people, but distressing those who do not obey him. The Ḍûm of Sharmallâ had a large dominion of his own, but Ḍûm of Gathan has a much larger one.

The Ḍûm of Sharmallâ has seven *khûnds* (descendants of *mâvis* or *mâwannas* who recognise his authority). These are:—Baghalû and Charogû in Khanetî, Aṭnet and Relû in Bashahar, Dogrê and Rachlâ in Kumhârsain, and Dharongû in Balsan. The Charogû, Relû and Dharogû *khads* (ravines) were seized by Ḍûm of Gathan and added to his dominions.

17. *The Deotâ Ḍûm of Hemrî.*—This Deotâ has the same history as Ḍûm of Sharmallâ. Shurâ and Parg lived at Hemri, and it is said that when the Ḍûm brothers were killed, their images were brought to Hemrî and thence taken to Sharmallâ and Gathan. Some say, however, that the Ḍûm brothers were killed by *mâvîs* before the Ṭhâkurs of Rajâna ruled the country.

There is an image of Ḍûm at Hemrî temple, where the Hemrî, Kathrol and Gumâ people worship him. This *deotâ*, when necessary, goes to Kângrâ on pilgrimage (*jâtrâ*).

A *melâ* is held at Hemrî on the Shaṛono (Salono) day in Bhâdon. The Baltî *melâ* is held every third year. This *deotâ* holds a *jâgîr* worth Rs. 4 from the Kumhârsain State. A Brâhman in Barech is his *pujârî*, but he is generally worshipped by the Kolîs and Lohârs of Hemrî.

18. *The Ḍûm of Kaṛel.*—At a temple in Kaṛel village is worshipped a Ḍûm, who is also an offshoot of the Ḍûm brothers. People say that this Ḍûm at first went from Hemrî to Gathan, and thence an image was brought to Kaṛel, although Hemrî and Kaṛel villages are close together. The Kaṛel people are worshippers of Gathan village, and as a mark of respect they keep a Ḍûm idol in the temple in their village. A *baltî* fair is held every third year and a *bhundâ melâ*—whenever the people wish—after 10 or 15 years. Every house gives some goats to be killed, the people inviting their kinsmen, especially *dhi-dhains* and the sons-in-law and their children. The Barech Brâhman does *pûjâ* in the morning only.

*Bhat deotâ* resides with the Ḍum in the Kaṛel temple. Originally a Sârsut Brahman living at Mateog a village just above Kumhârsain itself, Bhat was prosecuted by a Rânâ of Kumhârsain and ordered to be arrested, but he fled to the Kullû side pursued by a Kaṛel sepoy, who had been sent to seize him. He was caught on the bank of the Sutlej, but asked the sepoy to allow him to bathe in the river before being taken back to Kumhârsain, and there he drowned himself. He became a demon and haunted the sepoy in his sleep, until the latter made an image in his name and began to worship him at Kaṛel. The other people of Kaṛel, out of respect for the image, placed it in the temple beside that of the Ḍûm. Bhat Deotâ holds a small *jâgîr* of ten annas a year from the Kumhârsain State.

19. *The Deotâ Ḍûm of Jhangrolî.*—The people of Jhangrolî in Chagâon *pargana* brought an image of Ḍûm from Gathan and built him a temple. He is worshipped with *dhûp-dîp* every 5th day, but has no daily *pûjâ*. The people held the Gathan Ḍûm to be their family *deotâ*, but the temple is maintained in the village as a mark of respect.

20. *The Ḍûm of Kamâlî in Kandrû.*—There are no notes recorded of this Ḍûm.

21. *The Deotâ Ḍûm in pargana Chebishi.*—Though the Ḍûm *deotâs* have their chief temples at Gathan and Sharmallâ, there are a number of Ḍûms with their temples in Sarâj, as already noted. A Ḍûm also came to Shadhoch, and there are four temples to him in the following villages of *pargana* Chebishi :—Pharal, Kotla, Kupṛi and Parojusha.

*The Ḍûm of Pharal.*—It is not known when this Ḍûm was brought from Sharmallâ. A man of this *pargana* lived in Sarâj, whence he brought an image and placed it in a temple at Pharaj, with the express permission of Malendû *deotâ*, who is the family *deotâ* of the Chebîshî people. This Dûm has no *rath*, and his function is to protect cattle. If a cow does not give milk he is asked to make her yield it in plenty, and the *ghi* produced from the first few days' milk, is given to him as *dhûp*. No *khin* is performed for him, but Kanets give him *dhûp-dhîp* daily. He has no *bhoṛ*.

22. *The Ḍûm of Koṭhî.*—Koṭlâ has always been held in *jâgîr* by the Kanwars or Miâṅs of Kumhârsain, and the Dûm temple here was founded by one of them.

23. *The Ḍûm of Kupṛî.*—The people of Kupṛî village say that more than 700 years ago they came from Rewag, a village in [illegible] *pargana* in Sarâj, and settled at Kupṛî in the Chebishi *pargana* of Shadoch. Their ancestors brought with them a Ḍûm, their family *deotâ's* image, and placed it in a temple. A field at Kupṛî was named Rewag after their original village

The people of this village do not regard Malendu as their family god. There are at present 9 images of the Ḍûm in the Kupṛî temple and a small *piṛi* (bed), where it is believed a Bhâgwatî lives with him. The Kanets are his *pujârîs* and also his *gurs*. A *khin melâ* is held every three or four years at night when goats are sacrificed.

24. *The Ḍûm of Parojusha.*—Nearly 200 years ago Kâjî, a Shadoch man, who had lived in Sarâj, returned to his village and brought with him an image of a Ḍûm, which he presented to his fellow-villagers at Beshera, and made them also swear to worship him. This they did presumably with Malendû's permission.

More than 100 years ago one of the villagers killed a *sâdhû*, whose spirit would not allow the people to live at ease in their village, so they all left it and settled in Parojusha. A Bhagwatî is believed to live with him in the temple. The Kanets worship him, but their family god is Malendû. He has no *bhoṛ*.

**Fifth Group.—The Muls.**

25. *The Deotâ Mûl Padoî of Kotî in pargana Kandrû.*—Mûl Padoî is one of the biggest *deotâs* in these hills, and he has temples in various villages in Bhujjî, Shangrî and Kumhârsain. He appeared from a cave called Chunjar Malânâ, near Mathiâna, not less than 1500 years ago. About that time a prince came from Sirmûr, presumably because he had quarrelled with his brothers, and accompanied by a few *kârdârs*, took refuge in the cave. He also had with him his family god, now called Naroliâ. His name is said to have been Deva Singh, but it is possible that this was the name of one of his descendants, who held Kotî State in Kandrû.

While he was living in the cave, Padoî, who was also called Mûl, kept on playing on musical instruments and then calling out :—" *Chutûṅ, parûṅ,* " I shall fall, I shall fall. " The prince one day replied that if the spirit wished to fall, he could do so, and lo! the image called Mûl fell down from the cave before the prince.

Mûl wished him to accept a kingdom, but he said that he was a wandering prince who had no country to rule. Thereupon a *baṛî* (mason) from Kotî in Kandrû came and told the prince that he had led him to that cave, and begged him to accompany him to a State where there was no chief. The prince said that he could not accept, unless the rest of its people came and acknowledged him as their Râjâ. So the mason returned to Kandrû and brought back with him the leading men of the country, and they took the prince to Kotî, where he built a temple for the *deotâ* and a palace for himself. People say that the palace had eighteen gates and occupied more than four acres of land. Its remains are still to be seen near the temple where the *deotâ* Naroliâ was placed along with Mûl Padoî. Some say that the temple stood in the middle of the palace.

The *deotâ* Naroliâ never comes out in public, but appears only before the Rânâ of Kumhârsain, if he visits him, or before the descendants of the mason who brought the prince to this country. He never comes beyond the Kotî *bâsa* (dwelling house) to accept his dues (*kharen*, a small quantity of grain).

A few generations later it happened that a Ṭhâkur of Kotî had four sons, who quarrelled about the division of the State. One son established himself in Kullû and then at Kângal, (now in Shangrî), the second went to Thârû in Bhajjî State, and the third settled at Mâlag now in Bhajjî, while the Tikkâ of course lived at Kotî. Kullû conquered his State but some say Kumhârsain took it.

People say that Râjâ Man Singh of Kullu took Kangal fort. (The descendants of the Kângal Thakur are the Miâns of Gheti and Kariot in Chabishi). I could not learn whether the Thârû and Mâlag Ṭhâkurs have any descendants now in Bhajjî. It seems that Kotî State was founded a little before the Rajâna State. The name of the State is only known in connection with Mûl *deotâ's* story or the songs (*bars*) sung in Bhajjî.

Some people say that four images fell in the Chunjar Malânâ cave, while others think that there are four Mûls in as many temples. Their names are Mûl, Shîr, Sadrel and Thâthlû, and their temples are at Kotî, Padoî, Kângal and Sarân in Suket. But the old devotees of Mûl *deotâ* multiplied the Mûl, by carrying his images and building temples to him wherever

they went. Wherever there is temple to Mûl, he is now generally called Padoî. At present his chief temple is at Padoâ in Bhajjî, on the east bank of the Sutlej, but Kotî is the *jethu-sthân* or first place. Shânglû and Riṛkû are his *bhors*.

*Riṛku* was a *deotâ* at Padôa, who came flying in spirit to Mûl at Kotî. He ate a loaf given him by Mûl and accepted him as his master. He now drives away *bhut pret* when commanded by Mûl, and the same is told of Shânglu.

*Thathlû deotâ*[10] is *wazîr* to the Mûl of Kotî and when a rupee is given to him, four annas are given to Thathlû. Thathlû's temple is at Thathal in Kumhârsain and in it his image is kept, but people believe that Thathlû is always with his elder spirit and only comes to the temple when invoked or to take *dhûp dîp*. Thathlû calls Mûl his *dâdû* (elder). Mûl goes to Sunî every year at the *Dasahrâ* and his spirit goes to Shulî to bathe. Padoâ and Dharogṛâ in Bhajjî have large temples of Mûl and there is a big temple at Parol in Shangrî also. Padoî *deotâ* is very useful, if his help is asked, in hunting and shooting. There are two other temples of Padoî in Chebishi *pargana*, at Shaillâ and Ghetî.

26. *Mûl Padoî of Shaillâ.*—The Ṭhâkur's descendants also settled in village Kareot. The Ghetî people, too, carried their family god to Kareot, but on their way they came to Shaillâ. Before that time the Nâg *deotâ* used to be the family god of the Shaillâ people, but a leper in Shaillâ laid himself on the road and asked Padoî to cure him. Padoî said that if he would cure him, he must discard the Nâg *deotâ* who was living in the village. The leper promised to do so and was cured. The people seeing Padoî's superiority over the Nâg sent him away to Dhalî village, where the people still worship him. His temple was taken over by Padoî and he lives there to this day. A devotee of Padoî went to Theog and there built him a temple, only a couple of years ago [1908].

It is said that with the prince from Sirmûr came a Brâhman, a Kanet named Gasâon, and a *turî* (musician), whose descendants are to be found in Kumhârsain, Bhajjî and Shangrî. Shangrî State was a part of Kullû and made a State soon after the Sikh invasion of Kullû, when *wazîr* Kapuru made Shangrî State for the Râjâ of Kullû.

Padoî Deota of Kotî has from Kumhârsain a *jagir* worth Rs. 112. Goats are sacrificed and the Diwâlî and Shaṛuno festivals are observed, when a small fair is held.

27. *Mûl Padoî of Gheti.*—When the Ṭhâkur of Kângal fled or died, his fort was burnt by the Râjâ of Kullû, and the descendants of his house came to Kumhârsain in the time of Râṇâ Râm Singh. They were given Ghetî village in *jâgîr*. The Kolî fort was taken by them and they held it for about twenty generations. They brought with them to Ghetî silver and copper images of Mûl, and these are kept at the Ghetî temple to this day.

## Sixth Group—Kalis and Bagwatis.

28. *The Deotâ Kâlî of Anû.*—Long ago (people cannot say when) one of the *zamîndârs* of Anû went to Kidâr Nâth and brought back with him an image, which he set up at Anû as Kâlî. *Puja* is not made daily, but only on the Shankrant day.

29. *Kâlî of Dertû.*—As to this Kâlî, see the account of Malendî. She has a small temple at Dertû and is believed to live there. Goats are sacrificed to her.

30. *The Deotâ Durgâ of Bhareeh.*—Durgâ *deotâ* is a goddess who was brought by a Brâhman from Hât Kotî to Bhareeh, a village in Chagâon *pargana*. Brâhmans worship her morning and evening.

31. *The Bhâgwatî of Kachin Ghâtî.*—At Kachin Ghâtî is a small temple of Bhâgwatî, who is worshipped by the people of *pargana* Sheol in Kumhârsain. Though their family god is the Marechh at Bareog, they regard this Bhâgwatî with respect and sacrifice goats to her. She has no connection with Âdshaktî or Kasumbâ Devî.

[10] The Thâthlû *Zamîndârs* claim to be descendants of the Sirmûr prince, though they are now Kanets.

## Seventh Group.—Independent Deotâs.

32. *The Deota Manûn or Magneshwar.*—At a village called Jâlandhar in Kullû lived a Brâhman, whose wife gave birth to a girl. When she was 12 years old, the girl, though a virgin, gave birth to twin serpents, but kept it secret and concealed her serpent sons in an earthen pot, and fed them on milk. One day she went out for a stroll, and asked her mother not to touch her dolls which were in the house, but unfortunately her mother, desiring to see her child's beloved dolls, uncovered the pot, and to her dismay the two serpents raised their hoods. Thinking the girl must be a witch, she threw burning ashes on them and killed one of them, but the other escaped to a *gharâ* full of milk, and though burnt, turned into an image.

Meanwhile the virgin mother returned, and finding her loving sons so cruelly done by, she cut her throat and died on the spot. Her father came in to churn the milk, and in doing so broke the *ghara* in which, to his surprise, he found the image which the living serpent had become. Distressed at his daughter's suicide, he left his home, and taking the image in his turban he roamed from land to land.

At last he reached Sirmûr, whose Râjâ had no son. He treated the Brâhman kindly, and he asked the Râjâ to give him his first-born son, if he wanted more children through the power of his image. The Râjâ agreed, and by the grace of the image he was blessed with two sons, the elder of whom was made over to the Brâhman together with a *jâgîr*, which consisted of the *parganas* of Rajâna, Mathiâna, Shilli, Sheol and Chadârâ, now in Phâgû Tahsîl in Keonthal. It was called Rajâna, and its former Thâkurs have a history of their own, as their family had ruled there for several generations.

Hither the Brâhman brought the Râjâ's elder son and settled at Rajâna village, commonly called Mûl Rajâna in Shillî *pargana*. The Brahman settled at Manûn, a village to the north-west of Rajâna, where another *deotâ* was oppressing the people. But the Brahman revealed his miraculous image and people began to worship Magneshwar as a greater *deotâ*. He killed the oppressor, and the people burned all his property, certain *mâvîs* who resisted being cruelly put to death by the devotees of the new *deotâ*. Deorî Dhar village was set on fire and the people in it burnt alive.

Later on when the Gerû family of the Kumhârsain chiefs had established themselves in the country, the *deotâ* helped the Ṭhâkur (now the Rânâ of Kumhârsain) to gain a victory over the Sirmûr Râjâ. The Kumhârsain State gave a *jâgîr*, now worth Rs. 166, to the Magneshwar *deotâ* of Manûn. He has a large temple, and the chief among his *kârdârs* is the *bhandârî* who keeps the *jâgîr* accounts.

*Sadâ barat* (alms) are given to *sâdhûs*, *faqîrs* or Brâhmans. He is worshipped daily morning and evening by his *pujârîs*. A *melâ* is held annually at Manûn on the 17th or 18th Baisâkh and another at the Diwâlî at night. Every third year another *melâ* called the *shilâru pûjâ* is held. A big *pûjâ melâ* is performed every 7th or 8th year and a still bigger one called *shânt* every 30 years. When a new Rânâ ascends the *gaddî*, the *deotâ* tours the country belonging to him. This is called *rajâoli jâtrâ*.

The Nagar-Koṭiâ or Dûm Deotâ of Sharmallâ was on friendly terms with this *deotâ*, but they quarrelled while dancing at Shamokhar in Rânâ Pritavî Singh's time, and so a dispute arose about the right to hold a *melâ* at Shamokhar. This quarrel lasted for a long time and the *parganas* of Sheol and Ubdesh (devotees of Dûm and Manûn) ceased paying revenue to the State, until the British Government decided that the Daro Jâl and Dagrot *zamîndârs* should pay Rs. 30 as *chorchi* to Magneshwar *deotâ* every third year, and that no *deotâ* should be allowed to hold any *melâ* at Shamokhar. This *deotâ* is not *darhi dhârî*, and goats are sacrificed to him.

33. *The Deotâ Mahan or Chatar Mukh in Kotgarh.*—This *deotâ* is believed to be one of the most powerful gods in these hills. He is the family god of the Kot Khâî and Khanetî chiefs and also of the Ṭhâkur of Karânglâ. More than 3,000 years ago, when there were no

Râjâs or Rânâs in the country (except perhaps Bânâsur in Bashahr) the people obeyed the *deotâs* as spiritual lords of the land, while *mâwannâs* held parts of the country. The *deotâ* Kânâ was supreme in Kotgaṛh and Khaneti Shadoch country. As he had only one eye, he was called *kânâ*. He delighted in human sacrifice, and every month on the Shankrânt day a man or woman was sacrificed to him as a *balî*. Each family supplied victims by turn.

Legend says that there was a woman who had five daughters, four of whom had in turn been devoured by Kânâ Deo and the turn of the fifth was fixed for the Shankrânt day. A contemporary god, called Khachlî Nâg, had his abode in a forest called Jarol, near a pond in Khanetî below Sidhpur (on the road to Kotgaṛh). The poor woman went to him, complaining that the *deotâ* Kânâ had devoured hundreds of human beings and that her four daughters had already been eaten and the same fate for the fifth was fixed for the Shankrântî. She implored the Nâg to save her daughter, and he having compassion on her, said that when Kânâ *deo's* men came to take the girl for the *balî*, she should look towards the Nâg and think of him.

The woman returned home, and when on the day fixed Kânâ *deo's* men came for the girl, she did as she had been told. At the same instant a black cloud appeared over the Jarol forest, and spread over the village of Melan and the temple of Kânâ *deo*, with lightning and thunder. There was a heavy downpour of rain, the wind howled, and a storm of iron hail and lightning destroyed the temple and the village. Both the temple of Kânâ and the village of Melan were swept away, but their remains are still to be seen on the spot. They say that large stones joined together by iron nails are found where the temple stood. Images of various shapes are also found in the *nálá*.

Now, there was no other *deotâ* in this part of the country, and the people began to wonder how they could live without the help of a god. The custom was that they could hold no fair without a god riding in his *rath*, so they took counsel together and decided that the Deotâ Nâg of Kachlî should be the one god of the country. They chose his abode in the forest and begged him to accept them as his subjects, promising that they would carry him to Melan, build him a new temple, and love him as their lord, and that on *melá* days he should ride in a *rath* and be carried from place to place and be worshipped as he might please. But the Deotâ Nâg was a pious spirit, his ascetic habits would not permit of pomp and pageantry, so he declined to offer himself as a god of the country, but told the people that he was a hermit and loved solitude, and that if the people were in real earnest in wishing for a god, they should seek one at Khaṛan (a village in *pargana* Baghi-Mastgaṛh, now in Bashahar) where there were three brothers, *deotâs* in a single temple. He advised them to go to Khaṛan and beg these *deotâs* to agree to be their lords, and promised that he would help them with his influence.

The Khaṛan Deotâs came in their *raths* for a *melá* at Dudhbalî (in *parganá* Jâo, now in Kumhârsain) and there the Sadoch people proceeded to obtain a *deotá* as king over their country. While the three Khaṛan brothers were dancing in their *raths*, the people prayed in their hearts that whichever of them chose to be their god, might make his *rath* as light as a flower, while the other *raths* might become too heavy to turn. They vowed in their hearts that the one who accepted their offer should be treated like a king, that his garments should be of silk, his musical instruments of silver, that no sheep or she-goats should be given him, but only he-goats, and that his dominion should be far and wide from Bhairâ near the Sutlej to Kupaṛ above Jubbal (the custom still is that no sheep or she-goat is sacrificed before Chatarmukh *deotá* and no cotton cloth is used). Their prayer was accepted by the second brother, who was called Chatar-mukh (four-faced). The name of the eldest brother is Jeshar and of the youngest Ishar. When Chatar-mukh caused his *rath* to be as light as a lotus flower, eighteen men volunteered to carry it away from the *melá*, and dancing bore it home on their shoulders.

The Kharan and Jâo people, finding that Chatar-mukh was stolen from them by the Shadoch people, pursued them shooting arrows and brandishing *dangrâs*. The brave eighteen halted at a *maidân* behind Jao village, where there was a free fight, in which Kachlî Nâg mysteriously helped them, and Chatar-mukh by his miraculous power turned the pursuers' a rows against their own breasts and their *dangrâs* flew at their own heads, until hundreds of headless trunks lay on the *maidân*, while not one of the Shadochâs was killed. The Shadoch people then carried the *rath* in triumph to Shathlâ village (in Kotgarh), in the first instance, choosing a place in the middle of the country, so that the god might not be carried off by force by the Kharan and Jâo people. Thence the *deotâ* was taken to Sakundî village (in Kotgarh), but the *deotâ* did not like to live there and desired the people to build him a temple at Melan, nearly a furlong from the destroyed temple of the *deotâ* Kânâ Deo to the Kotgarh side. This was done gladly by the people and Chatar-mukh began to reside here.

The people say that nearly 150 years ago Chatar-mukh went to Kidâr Nâth on a *jâtrâ* (pilgrimage), and when returning home he visited Mahâsu Deotâ at Nol, a village in Kiran in Sirmûr (Kiran is now British territory, probably in Dehra Dûn District) as his invited guest. But one of Mahâsu's attendant *deotâs* troubled Chatar-mukh in the temple at Nol and frightened his men so that they could not sleep the whole night. This displeased Chatar-mukh, and he left the temple at daybreak much annoyed at his treatment. He had scarcely gone a few steps, when he saw a man ploughing in a field, and by a miracle made him turn towards the temple and ascend it with his plough and bullocks.

Deotâ Mahâsû asked Chatar-mukh why he manifested such a miracle, and Chatar-mukh answered that it was a return for his last night's treatment ; that he, as a guest, had halted at the temple for rest at night, but he and his *lashkar* had not been able to close their eyes in sleep the whole night. Chatar-mukh threatened that by his power the man, plough and bullocks should stick for ever to the walls of the temple. Mahâsû was dismayed and fell on his knees to beg for pardon.

Chatar-mukh demanded the surrender of Mahâsû's devil attendant, and he was compelled to hand him over. This devil's name is Shirpâl.[11] He was brought as a captive by Chatar-mukh to Melan, and after a time, when he had assured his master that he would behave well, he was forgiven and made Chatar-mukh's *wazîr*, as he still is, at Melan. Shirpâl ministers in the temple and all religious disputes are decided by him ; *e.g.*, if anyone is outcasted or any other *chuâ* case arises, his decision is accepted and men are re-admitted into caste as he decrees (by oracle).

Some other minor *deotâs* also are subordinates to Chatar-mukh, the chief among them being :—(1) Benû, (2) Janerû, (3) Khorû, (4) Merelû and (5) Basârâ. These *deos* are commonly called his *bhors* (servants). The people cannot tell us anything about their origin, but they are generally believed to be *râkshas*, who oppressed the people in this country until Chatar-mukh subdued them and made them his servants. These *bhor deos* are his attendants and serve as *chaukîdârs* at the temple gate.

Benu is said to have come from Bena in Kullû. He was at first a devil. When it is believed that any ghost has appeared in a house or has taken possession of any thing or man, Deo Benu turns him out. Janeru came from Paljârâ in Bashahar. He, too, is said to be a devil, but Chatar-mukh reformed him. His function is to protect women in pregnancy and childbirth, also cows, etc. For this service he is given a loaf after a birth. Khorû appeared from Khorû Kiâr in Kumhârsain. He was originally a devil, and when Râjâ Mahî Prakâsh of Sirmûr held his court at Khorû and all the hill chiefs attended it, the devil oppressed the people until Chatar-mukh made him captive and appointed him his *chaukîdâr* at Melan temple. Merelû came out of a *marghat* (crematorium). He, too, is looked upon as a *jamdût* or *râkshas*. He had frightened the people at Sainjâ in Kotgarh, but was captured and made a *chaukîdâr* at Melan.

11 *Shir* means 'stairs', and *pâl* means watch; hence Shirpâl means 'a servant at the gate.'

Basârâ Deo is said to have come from Bashahr State, and some say that he was a subordinate *deo* of Basarû Deotâ at Gaora and troubled his master, so Basarû handed him over to Chatar-mukh ; but others say that Powârî, *wazîr* of Bashahar, invoked Chatar-mukh's aid, as he was distressed by the devil Basârâ, and Shirpâl, Chatar-mukh's *wazir*, shut Basârâ up in a *toknî*. Thus shut up, he was carried to Melan and there released and appointed a *chaukîdâr*. The utensil is still kept at Melan. This *deo* helps Benu Deo in turning out ghosts (*bhut*, *pret*, or *charel*). Basarû Deo was given Mangshû and Shawat villages where only Kolîs worship him.

The people of Kirtî village in Kotgaṛh worship Marechh *deotâ*. Less than hundred years ago Chatar-mukh *deotâ* came to dance in a *kirtî jubar*, and Marechh *deotâ* opposed him. Chatar-mukh prevailed and was about to kill him, when Tirû, a Brâhman of Kirtî village, cut off his own arm and sprinkled the blood upon Chatar-mukh, who retired to avoid the sin of *Brâhm-hatya* (murder of a Brâhman). Chatar-mukh, feeling himself polluted by a Brâhman's blood, gave Marechh *deotâ* the villages of Bhanâna, Kirtî and Shawat, and then went to bathe at Kedâr Nâth to get purified.

Every twelfth year Chatar-mukh tours in his dominion, and every descendant of the eighteen men who brought him from Dudhbalî accompanies him. They are called the Nine Kuîṅ and Nine Kashî. Kuîṅ means original people of respectable families, and Kashî means 'those who swore.' The Nine Kuîṅ took with them nine men, who swore to help them to carry Chatar-mukh from Dudhbalî. When the *deotâ* returns from his tour, these eighteen families are each given a *vidaigî* gift of a *pagrî*, and all the people respect them.

An annual *melâ* is held at Dudhbalî, to which Chatar-mukh goes to meet his two Khaṛan brothers. A big Diwâlî *melâ* is also held at Melan every third year. Every year Chatar-mukh goes to the Dhadû *melâ* in Kotgaṛh, and in Sâwan he goes on tour in Kheneti State (Shadoch *pargana*).

The old *pujârîs* of Kânâ *deotâ* were killed by lightning or drowned with the *deotâ*, and when Chatar-mukh settled at Melan, the Khaṛan *pujârîs* also settled there, and they worship him daily morning and evening.

His favourite *jâtrâ* is to Kedâr Nâth, and this he performs every 50 or 60 years. He does not approve of the *bhûndâ* sacrifice, though his brothers in Khaṛan hold every twelfth year a *bhûndâ*, at which a man is run down a long rope, off which he sometimes falls and is killed. Chatar-mukh goes to see the *bhûndâ* at Khaṛan, but does not allow one at Melan. There is a *balti* fair at Melan every third year. The *deotâ's* image is of brass and silver. When he returns from Kîdâr Nâth, a *diapan jag melâ* is held.

People believe that Chatar-mukh is away from his temple in Mâgh every year for 15 days, and that he goes to bathe at Kedâr Nâth with his attendants. They say that the spirits fly to Kedâr Nâth, and all work is stopped during these days. His *bhandâr* (store house) is also closed, and his *deva* or *gur*, through whom he speaks, does not appear in public or perform *hingarna*. The people believe that Chatar-mukh returns on the 15th of Mâgh, and then his temple is opened amid rejoicings.

Some say that there is a place in Bashahar, called Bhandî Bil, where the hill *râkshasas* and devils assemble every year early in Mâgh, and Chatar-mukh with other *deotâs* of the hills goes to fight them, and returns after fifteen days. The people say that Chatar-mukh has eighteen treasuries hid somewhere in caves in forests, but only three of them are known. The treasures were removed from the temples, when the Gurkhâs invaded the country. One contains utensils, another musical instruments, and the third gold and silver images of which it was once robbed. The remaining fifteen are said to be in caves under ground.

The *deotâ* holds large *jâgîrs* from the Bashahar, Kumhârsain, Kot Khâî and Khaneti chiefs.

His chief *kârdârs* are the *gur, bhandârî, khazânchî* and *darogha* of accounts. Four of them are from Kotgaṛh, and two from Khanetî. All business is transacted by a *panchâyat.*

The *deotâ* also holds a *jâgîr* from Government worth Rs. 80. Kumhârsain has given him a *jâgîr* of Rs. 11 and Khanetî one of Rs. 22. The three Khaṛan brothers once held certain *parganas* in *jâgîr, pargana* Raik belonging to Jeshar, *pargana* Jâo to Chatar-mukh, and *pargana* Samat to Ishwar, but they have been resumed. Nearly 150 years ago the Melan temple was accidentally burnt, and when a Sirmûr Rânî of Bashahar, who was touring in her *jâgîr,* came to Melan, the *deotâ* asked her to build him a new temple. She asked him to vouchsafe her a miracle, and it is said that his *rath* moved itself to her tent without human aid, so she then built the present temple at Melan, some 30 years before the Gurkha invasion. The devotees of other Deotâs jest at Chatar-mukh's powers.

Till nearly seven generations ago the Râṇâs of Kot Khâî lived there and then transferred their residence to Kotgaṛh. When at Kotgaṛh, the *ṭikkâ* of one of the Râṇâs fell seriously ill and the people prayed Chatar-mukh to restore him. Chatar-mukh declared he would do so, but even as her *gur* was saying that the *ṭikkâ* would soon recover, news of his death was announced. Thereupon one Jhingrî killed the *gur* with his *dangrâ,* but the Râṇâ was displeased with him, and the family of the murderer is still refused admission to the palace. Some say that the blow of the *dangrâ* was not fatal and that the *gur* was carried by a Kolî of Batâṛî to Khanetî where he recovered.

Chatar-mukh has given the Khanetî men the privilege of carrying him in front, when riding in his *rath,* while the Kotgaṛh men hold it behind. Another mark of honour is that when Chatar-mukh sits, his face is always placed towards Khanetî. He is placed in the same position at his temple.

Chatar-mukh does not like ghosts to enter his dominion, and when any complaint is made of such an entry, he himself with his *bhors* visits the place and captures the ghost. If the ghost enters any article, such as an utensil, etc., it is confiscated and brought to his temple.

Chatar-mukh is a disciple of Khachlî Nâg, who has the dignity of his *gurû* or spiritual master. Kepû *deotâ* at Kepû in Kotgaṛh is a *mahâdeo* and Chatar-mukh considers him as his second *gurû.* Ḍûm *deotâ* at Pamlai in Kotgaṛh, a derivative of Ḍûm of Gathan in Keoṇthal, is considered subordinate to Chatar-mukh and has a separate temple at a distance. Marechh Deotâ of Kirtî and Mahâdeo of Kepû can accept a cloth spread over the dead, but Chatar-mukh and ûm cannot do so.

What became of Kânâ *deotâ* after the deluge at Melan cannot be ascertained, but a story believed by some is that he took shelter in a small cistern in Sawarî Khad. A woman long after a deluge tried to measure the depth of the cistern with a stick and Kânâ *deo's* image stuck to it, so she carried it to her house and when his presence was known, Chatur-mukh shut him up in a house at Batâṛî village. Some say that the woman kept the image of Kânâ in a box, and when she opened it, she was surprised by the snakes and wasps that came out of it. The box was then buried for ever.

34. *The Deotâ Baneshwar of Pujârlî.*—Pujârlî is a village in Ubdesh *pargana* of Kumhârsain, and its *deotâ* is said to be very ancient. Some say that in the early times of the *mâwannâs* there were three *mâwîs* to the south of Bâghî, *viz.,* Kero, Gahleo and Nâlî. The Kero *mâwîs'* fort lay in the modern Khanetî, and the Gahleo *mâwîs'* in Koṭ Khâî, while the Nâlî *mâwîs* had theirs at Mel, now in Kumhârsain, under Hâtû and close to Bâghî. The *mâwîs*[12] of Gahleo brought this *deotâ* from Bâlâ Hât in Gaṛhwâl and built him a temple at Ghelâ, a village in Koṭ Khâî, as he was the family *deotâ* of all three *mâwîs.* But they were

[12] The *mâwîs* were so wealthy that one used to spread out his barley to dry on a carpet, another could cover a carpet with coins, and a third had a gold chain hung from his house to the temple. Two of the *mâwîs* appear to have been named Nâlo and Gahlo.

all killed by Sirmûr and their houses burnt, so the Gahleo *mâwîs* (*i.e.*, those of them who escaped) concealed the *deotâ* in a cave in the cliffs above Ghelâ. Thence his voice would be heard, with the sound of bells and the scent of *dhûp*, so a Brâhman of Pujârlî[13] went to the cave and brought the *deotâ* to a temple at Pujârlî. He is regarded as their family *deotâ* by the people of Pujârlî, Nagan, Karâli and Banâl. As he is *dudhadhâri*, goats are not sacrificed to him. When the spirit of the *deotâ* enters (*chirnâ*) his *gur*, the *deotâ* says through him :—*Nâlwâ, Gahlwâna âp chhâṛe, na ân chhârâ*, 'Nâhlo and Gahlo! You spared neither yourselves nor me!'—because the *mâwis* had involved him in their own ruin.

35. *The Deotâ Garon of Panjaul.*—Ḍûm Deotâ lived in a temple at Panjaul, a village in *pargana* Chajolî of Kumhârsain, and a *pujârî* of Dasânâ in Ghond State used to come every day to worship him at Panjaul. One day when crossing the Girî, he saw five pitchers floating down the river and succeeded in catching one of them. This he brought to Panjaul, concealing it in the grass and taking it back with him to his home. He forbade his wife to touch it, but she disobeyed him, and when she opened it, wasps flew out and stung her. Her cries brought the *pujârî* home from his fields, and seeing her plight he threw cow's urine and milk over her and the pitcher. She and the wasps then disappeared, but in the pitcher the *pujârî* found an image which he carried to Panjaul, and then placed it in the temple beside Ḍûm *deotâ*. This *deotâ* is called Garon, because it was found in the Girî, and it is daily offered cow's urine and milk. It is worshipped also by the people of Panjaul. But its chief temple is at Deothî in Ghond, half the people of which State worship it, while the other half affect Shri-gul.

36. *The Deota Kot at Kalmun in Chebîshî.*—Not more than 50 years ago Kot *deotâ* of Kot in Kullû came to Kalmun in Chebishi *pargana* with Gushâon, a Kolî, who lived in that village. One Talkû, *julâhâ* of Kot, in Kullû, was a great friend of Gushâon, but after a time they quarrelled, and Talkû, whose family god was Kot *deotâ*, invoked him to distress Gushâon. This *deotâ* is said to be one who will distress anyone who calls upon him to trouble another. Gushâon then went to Kalmûn and with him brought Kot *deotâ*, but he fell sick and the Brâhmans said that it was Kot who was troubling him. Kot *deotâ* then said that if Gushâon would build a *deorî* (platform) for him, he would cure him ; otherwise he would kill him. So Gushâon was compelled to build a *deorî*, and then he recovered.

When Kot is displeased with anyone, he demands a fine of eighteen *tolâs* of gold, though subsequently he may accept as little as two annas. He is said to be so powerful that, when he was distressing Gushâon, and Malendû *deotâ* was asked for aid, the latter sent his *bhoṛ* Jhatâk to drive Kot away from Kalmûn, but Kot would not go. They fought, but Kot could not be subdued. Since then, whenever Malendû appears as a spirit in anyone, Kot at once appears in a Kolî before him, and so Malendû can do nothing against him. Kot has no *bhoṛ* and no *jâgîr*.

37. *Mâtlû Deo of Shelotâ.*—This *deotâ's* temple is at Shelotâ in *pargana* Chebîshî of Kumhârsain. Mâtlû came out of *mattî* (clay) and hence he is called Mâtlû. Before Râṇâ Kirtî Singh founded the State, a *mâwannâ* used to live at Shelotâ, and one day while his little sons were playing in a field called Satî Begain, an image sprung from the earth, and they began to play with it. They placed it on the edge of the field, presented *khaljâ* (gum of the *chir* pine-tree) to it as *dhûp*, and waved a branch of the tree over it, but Mâtlû *deotâ* was displeased at this and killed them on the spot. Their parents searched for them, when they had not

13 His family was called Moltâ, and only one house of it still survives. The present Brâhmans of Pujârlî hail from Tikargarh in Bashahar. The Pujârâs of Pujârlî appear to be called Kacherîs (by *ot* or family), and they founded Kacherî, a village near Kumhârsain.

returned late in the evening, and found them dead in the field. Seeing that there was an image close by, they took it up, thinking it must have killed the boys. The image was then taken to the village, and Brâhmans began to praise it and ask the *deotâ* the reason of his displeasure. Through a Brâhman in a trance the spirit said that his name was Mâtlû, and that if a temple were built for him in the village and his worship regularly performed, he would make the boys alive again. This was promised him, and the boys rose up saying "Râma, Râma."

The Kanets and Kolîs of Shelotâ alone worship him. He holds a small *jâgîr* worth Rs. 7-4-6 a year from the State. His *bhoṛs* are Bankâ and Bansherâ. Bankâ *deo* was originally a ghost in the forest, but was subdued by Mâtlû and made his servant like Bansherâ. Bankâ also lives at Shelag village. Mâtlû is given goats in sacrifice, but only ewes are given to Bansherâ. Bansherâ's spirit does not come to a Kanet, but speaks through a Kolî.

38. *Deotâ Heon of Palî.*—At Palî, a village in *pargana* Chagâon, is a temple where Heon *deotâ* resides. He is affected by the Palî people, but his chief temple is at Heon in *pargana* Rajânâ in Keoṅṭhal. He is worshipped not daily, but every fourth day, by a Brâhman. Goats are sacrificed to him.

39. *Deotâ Khaṛan of Sainjâ.*—At Khoṛû, near the junction of the Chagâonti Khad, with the Giri in Kumhârsain, is an extensive area of *kiâr* (rich cultivated land), and here Râjâ Mahî Parkâsh of Sirmûr[14] held his Court, after he had married a daughter of the then Râṇâ of Keoṅṭhal. This *darbâr* was attended by all the hill Râṇâs and Ṭhâkurs, except the Râṇâ of Jubbal who refused to attend, so the Râjâ of Sirmûr sent a force under the Râṇâ of Kumhârsain against Jubbal, whose Râṇâ was taken captive and sent to Nâhan, where, it is said, he died in prison.

Close to this *kiâr* lies Sainjâ, a village in which Khaṛan *deotâ* has a small temple. Some say that Râjâ Mohendra Prakâsh of Sirmûr left the idol there, but others say that it was sent there by a Râṇâ of Kumhârsain, in order to ensure good crops to the *kiâr* belonging to the State. It is also said that the image was sent from Kotîshwar's temple at Kotî. Khaṛan is a *deotâ* of agriculture and is worshipped by the Sainjâ Brahmans morning and evening Goats are sacrificed to him.

40. *Bhat of Karel.*—There is no note on the legend of this *deotâ.*

41. *Lonkra of Jâo.*—At Jâo stands a small temple with a wooden Lonkra on guard at its gate. This Lonkra is a servant of Karan *deotâ* of Bashahar.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### COPPER-PLATES.

Can anybody tell me where the Copper-Plates mentioned below can be seen?

1 Plate found near Bhandup about 1835.

1 Plate found by Dr. Bird in 1839, dated 245.

1 Plate found in 1881 (which records a grant by Aparajita Silahara in 997).

1 Plate found in Surat in 1881 A.D.

1 Plate found in Shimoga, with Mr Rice's Inscription.

1 Plate found in the Dhareshwar Temple in 1499.

1 Plate found at Gokarn, dated S. 1450—1527 A.D.

1 Plate dated 1500 (grant in the reign of Deva Raya Wodearu Trilochia).

1 Plate dated S. 1481 (A.D. 1559); Grant by Solva Krishna.

1 Plate found at Gokak (once in possession of Narayan Bhat.)

1 Morvi plate, dated S. 585.

1 Plate (once belonging to Virupaksh Dev of Narayan Shankar Temple).

1 Plate (once belonging to Shirale Shambhaling).

3 Plates found at Dharwar, dated 450-563, "Kadambas" period.

7 Plates, found at Halsi, "Kadambas" Period; and some Copper-Plates, dated 714.

B. F. GHARDA.

14 The Râjâ of Sirmûr reigned 1654-64 A.D. and carried his arms as far as Sialkhar, now in Bashahr, near the Tibetan border.

# WADDELL ON PHŒNICIAN ORIGINS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 125.)

## 2. Phœnician Inscription in Britain.

### *The Newton Stone.*

The enquiry commences with the examination of this Newton Stone, which is the foundation of the whole argument. "The monument stands at Newton House in the upper valley of the Don in Aberdeenshire," and its existence has been known to the world of scholars only since 1803. It has since that date been removed from a former site about a mile distant from its present one, and now stands near Mt. Bennachie, "within the angle of the old Moorland meadow (now part of the richly cultivated Garrioch vale of the old Pict-land) between the Shevack stream and the Gadie rivulet, which latter formerly, before the accumulation of silt, *may have* joined hereabouts with the Shevack and Urie tributaries of the Don." The monument actually stands close to the left bank of the Urie. The name Gadie leads Waddell to make one of his excursions into etymology, for he connects this river name of the Pict country with the Phœnician Gad, which was the usual spelling of "their tribal name of Khatti or Catti" and he says that "they were in the habit not infrequently of calling the rivers in their settlement Gad-i or Gad-es or Kad-esh." The name of the river Don, one knows from other sources, is spread in one form or another over Europe from Russia to the British Isles and is very ancient. The Newton Stone is not an isolated specimen, as Stuart has shown in his survey that 36 others are situated in the Don Valley.

The Newton Stone "bears inscriptions in two different kinds of script." The main inscription has a *swastika* in the centre, *i.e.*, half of it is inscribed before and half after it, and it is in a script which has often been attempted, but never read before Waddell tried his hand at it. The other inscription is "in the old Ogam linear characters. The scholars, who formerly attempted to decipher the main inscription assumed that it was either Pictish or Celtic, though Stuart suggested that it might be in an Eastern Alphabet. Then Waddell came on the scene and read it, right to left, as Aryan (not Semitic) Phœnician. He found it to be "true Phœnician and its language Aryan Phœnician of the early Briton or early Gothic type." He further "recognised that various ancient scripts found at or near the old settlements of the Phœnicians" were "all really local variations of the standard Aryan Hitto-Sumerian writing of ancient Phœnician mariners, those ancient pioneers spreaders of the Hittite civilisation along the shores of the Mediterranean and out beyond the Pillars of Hercules to the British Isles." Armed with this knowledge he made "an eye-copy" of the Inscriptions. "In his decipherment" he "derived special assistance from the Cilician, Cyprian and Iberian scripts, and the Indian Pali of the third and fourth centuries B.C., and Gothic runes, which were closely allied in several respects. Canon Taylor's and Prof. Petrie's classic works on the Alphabet also proved helpful."

In view of the fact that Waddell's theory is built on this "uniquely important central inscription" I give here his "eye-copy of it."

INSCRIPTION ON THE NEWTON STONE.

These characters Waddell transcribes as follows, the Roman vowels being treated as inherent in the preceding letter :—

KaZZi Ka
KĀST S(i)LUYRi
GYĀOLONONIE
BĪL卐 PoENĪG I
Kar SŚSI
LOKOYr PrWT R :

These words Waddell translates, word for word, thus :—

(This Cross the) Kazzi of
Kāst (of the) Siluyr-.
the Khilani (or Hittite palace-dweller)
to Bīl (this) cross, the Phœnician I-
khar (the) Ci-
lician, the Brit, raised (*rishti*).

On the Newton Stone is also inscribed an Ogam inscription, which has proved hitherto unreadable, because, for want of room, the strokes have been cut too close together, and therefore the spaces between the letters essential for reading are mostly absent. But with the light thrown by the above reading of the lettered inscription, Waddell makes the Ogam to read as follows :—

+ICAR QASS (or QaSB(i)L) Kh'A
S(i)LWOR GIOLN B(i)L
IKhaR SIOLLaGGA R(ishti)

And he translates as follows :—

(This Cross) Icar Qass of (the)
Silur (the) Khilani (to) Bil
Ikhar (of) Cilicia raised.

And finally he writes :—"then this bilingual inscription records that : 'this Sun-cross (Swastika) was raised to Bil (or Bel, the God of Sun-fire) by the Kassi (or Cass-bel [an]) of Kast of the Siluyr (sub-clan) of the Khilani (or Hittite Palace dwellers), the Phœnician (named) Ikar of Cilicia, the Prwt (or Prat[3] that is, Barat or Brihat or Brit-on) raised."

Here then we have the fundamental facts that Waddell claims to have discovered for his theory, which clearly rest on *his* reading of the Newton Stone. It is the importance of this consideration for the present purpose that has induced me to examine his book so closely here. The first point of criticism is what brought Phœnicians into Scotland ? Waddell's answer is that they were all over the British Isles and kindred regions, and not only in the South of England and Cornwall after tin. It will also be observed that we are obliged to take his reading on trust, because we are not given the actual analogies of the script with Phœnician scripts on which his reading rests.

Having thus read the inscriptions Waddell proceeds to find the date thereof, which "is fixed with relative certainty at about B.C. 400 by palæographical evidence," which of course is not available to us. "The author of the inscription," says Waddell, "Prat-Gioln, was the sea-king Part-olon, king of the Scots, of the early British *Chronicles*, who in voyaging off the Orkney Islands about B.C. 400, met his kinsman Gurgiunt, the then king of Britain whose uncle Brennus was . . . [illegible] the tradition[illegible] [illegible] Brennus I, who led the Gauls in the sack of Rome in B.C. 390."

3 Because, as Waddell remarks, the letter *w* in the last line of the main text may also be read $\bar{a}$.

The rareness of exactly similar cursive Aryan Phœnician writing is due, Waddell thinks, to the fact that "as Herodotus tells us, the usual Medium for writing in ancient Asia Minor was by pen and ink on parchments," and these parchments have perished. Lastly "the language of this Aryan Phœnician inscription is essentially Aryan in its roots, structure and syntax, with Sumerian and Gothic affinities" but this statement is not accompanied, so far as I can judge, by proof.

As regards the Ogam inscription Waddell writes :—"the Ogam version is clearly contemporary with, and by the same author, as, the central Phœnician inscription, as it is now disclosed to be a contracted version of the latter. This discovery thus puts back the date of the Ogam script far beyond the period hitherto supposed by modern writers." Then he connects it with Sumerian and Hittite scripts, devoted to the Sun-cult, and containing Sun-cross, "and the title Ogam he connects with the script of the Sun-worshippers. He passes on "to examine the rich crop of important historical, personal, ethnic and geographical names and titles preserved in the Brito-Phœnician inscription of about B.C. 400."

### 3. The Royal Titles on the Newton Stone.

In examining these inscriptions Waddell goes largely into etymology and into philological comparisons. His results "disclose . . . . not only the Phœnician origin of the British race properly so called and their civilisation, but also the Phœnician origin of the names Brit-on, Brit-ain and Brit-ish, and of the tutelary name Brit-annia. Details. alas !, are in the *Aryan Origin of the Phœnicians*, not here. Waddell connects these titles with "the Eastern branch of the Barats" in the *Mahâ-Bhârata*, after the Vedic custom of naming an Aryan clan after its forbear's name, and then he says :—"King Barat . . . . was the most famous fore-father of the founder of the first Phœnician Dynasty, which event" Waddell finds "by new evidence occurred about B.C. 3000." Going on, he says :—"whilst calling himself Phœnician and giving his personal name, the author of the Newton Stone inscription also calls himself" Briton, Scot, Hittite, Silurian and Cilician "by early forms of these names." He then proceeds to identify these titles.

*Phœnician.*

The inscription has "the spelling Poenîg[4], which Waddell identifies with Greek, Phoinik-es; Latin, Phœnic-es ; Egyptian, Panag, PaLasa, Fenkha ; Hebrew, Panag ; Sanskrit, Panch-āla ; English, Punic, Phœnician. And then he says :—"Pœnig or Phœnician possibly survives in the neighbouring mountain Bennachie, on which there *may have been* a Sun-altar to the 'Phœnix, Sun-bird emblem of Bil or Bel.' " And then "in this regard," says Waddell, "the name of Bleezes for the old inn at the foot of Mt. Bennachie (now a farm house) is suggestive of former Bel Fire-worship there." Bleezes he identifies with Blaze, Blayse or Blaise, "the name of a canonical saint introduced into the early Christian Church in the fourth century from Cappadocia, like St. George, the traditional place of whose massacre is at the old Hittite city of Savast." Blaise was the patron saint of Candlemas Day (2nd Feb.), so Bleezes "*may* preserve the tradition of an ancient Phœnician altar blazing with perpetual fire-offering to Bel."

*Cilician.*

This name is spelt in the main Newton Stone inscription as Sšsīlokoy and in the Ogam as Siollaggâ, and according to Waddell, equals Greek, Kilikia ; Latin, Cilicia ; Babylonian, Xilakku, Xilakki. Its seaport was Tarsus (Hebrew, Tarshish), whose actual harbour was Parthenia, "or Land of the Partho . . a dialectic variation of the Phœnician eponym Barat, in series with the Prât on the Newton monument.[5] Tarsus was "a special centre

[4] It will be observed, however, that Waddell's actual reading is Pœnig If the accent should be on the second syllable, it will seriously affect the identification with Phœnix, Phœnician.

[5] This name is read by Waddell as Prwt or Prât ; the actual letters inscribed being said to be PWT or PÂT.

of Bel-worship . . . . under the special protection of the maritime tutelary goddess Barati . . . . the Phœnician prototype of our modern British tutelary Britannia."

The Cilicians are identified with the Phœnicians thus: "Phœnix and King Cadmus the Phœnician are called the sons of Agenor, the first traditional king of the Phœnicians, and their brother was Kilix." Then says Waddell, "the ancient Phœnician colonists from Cilicia proudly recorded their ancestry . . . . were in the habit of not returning to their native land [Ikar of Cilicia and of the inscription must have found Scotland a change from Palestine] . . . . and transplanted their homeland name of Cilicia to their new colonies."

*E.g.*, near Bognor on the South coast of England lies "Sels-ey or the Island of the Sels . . . . where a hoard of pre-Roman coins of ancient Briton were found." *Ey* is a well-known British term for 'island' in place names and Waddell remarks, by the way, that "significantly the Phœnician word for 'island' or 'sea-shore' was *ay*." But his point here is that these coins bore "solar symbols . . . . hitherto undeciphered," though Evans thought them "something like Hebrew characters." Going on the Newton Stone Waddell reads these characters as SiL, "which *seems to be* a contraction for the fuller Śśsilokoy or Cilicia."



ANCIENT BRITISH COIN FROM SELSEY.

Not far off Selsey, on the ancient high-road, lies Sil-chester, "the pre-Roman capital of the Segonti clan of the Britons, said to have been also called Briten-den or Fort of the Britons" and is very Phœnician. "This discovery of the ancient Phœnician origin of the name Sels-ey, or Island of the Sels or Cilicians," suggests a similar origin for "Sles-wick or Abode of the Sles, for the Angles in Denmark," while "the Silik form of Cilicia . . . . *seems also to be probably* the source of the Selg-ovœ tribal title which was applied by the Romans to the people of Galloway coast of the Solway [Scotland]." This last "seems to have been the same warlike tribe elsewhere called by the Romans Atte-Catti . . . . =Catti or Atti or Hitt-ite."

*Kâst or Kwâst.*

"This title is geographical and refers the founder of the Newton Stone inscription to Kasta-bala (Budrum)," the ancient capital of Cilicia about B.C. 400. It had a great shrine to Perathea (Diana), who "was Britannia." The country on the same river, the Pyramus, was the Græco-Roman Kata-onia, Cata-onia, "the Land of Kat or Cat=Catti= the ancient Britons, and a title of the Phœnician Barat rulers."

The identification of Kast with Kasta-bala "gives us the clue to the Cilician sources of the Sun-cult imported into North Britain by the Phœnician Barat princes" of the inscription, from the bas-reliefs of Antiochus I of Commagene already mentioned. These refer to the old Sumerian ceremony of coronation, which "*seems* to be referred to in a Vedic hymn to the Sun-god Mitra :—'When will ye [Mitra] take us by both hands, as a dear sire his son?'" And "even more significantly in the *Volu-Spa Edda*" of the Goths in ancient Britain.

*Kazzi or Qass.*

"This title is clearly and unequivocally a variant dialectic spelling of Kāśi, an alternative clan title of the Phœnician Khatti Barats," deriving from "Kaś or Kāś, the name of the famous grandson of King Barat." It appears in the Vedic kings of the First Panch(-āla) Dynasty and in "the Epic king-lists" with the "capital at Kāśī, the modern Benares, bordering on the Panch(-āla) province of ancient India."

Kassi or Cassi is the title of the First Phœnician Dynasty, about B.C. 3000, of the Babylonian Dynasty, admittedly "Aryan" in B.C. 1800—1200 in Phœnician Inscriptions in Egypt. It is "now disclosed as the Phœnician source of the Cassi title borne by the Briton Catti kings . . . . down to Cassivellaunus, who minted the Cas coins."

Waddell then goes on :—The early Aryan Kāśī are referred to in Vedic literature as officers of the Sacred Fire and the special *protégés* of Indra. And in Babylonia the Kassi were ardent Sun-worshippers with its Fire-offering, and were devotees of the Sun-cross . . . . in various forms of St. George's Cross, the Maltese Cross, etc." Waddell here gives a figure showing "the pious Aryan Cassis of Babylonia about B.C. 1350 ploughing and sowing under the sign of the Cross," which "explains for the first time the hitherto unaccountable fact of the prehistoric existence of the Cross." It further explains "the Cassi title used by the pre-Roman Briton kings,—a title in series with Ecossais for Scots, as well as the Kazzi or Qass" of the inscription. Assyriologists, however, apparently do not agree to this.

*Icar.*

This title, as Ikhar, Ixar and Icār is a personal name of Kassi royalties, and occurs under many forms, including Agar, in Hittite. Its meaning "*may possibly* be found in "Akharri or Axarri or Western Land," *i.e.*, "Phœnicia and the Land of the Amorites."

*Siluyri or Silwor.*

These names "suggest the ethnic name of Silures, applied by Roman writers to the people of South Wales bordering on the Severn," but that people were non-Aryans, and also "it *may possibly* designate a Silurus district in Spain," whence the author of the inscription is "traditionally reported to have come . . . . immediately on his way to Britain."

Having thus seen how Waddell's works on his investigation and its results, we can next examine the further titles of Prat or Prwt and Gyaolownie or Gioln.

*Prat or Prwt.*

Waddell commences here with a quotation from the *Mahā-Bhārata* :—"and king Bharat gave his name to the Dynastic Race of which he was the founder ; and so it is from him that the fame of that dynastic people hath spread so wide." Also from the *Ṛig-Veda* :—"like a father's name men love to call their names." The Phœnician Prāt or Prwt, he says, has been shown to be identical with the Sanskrit Bharat or Brihat[6], and is now "disclosed as the source of our modern titles Brit-on, Brit-ain and Brit-ish." Bharat, he says, is also spelt Pritu, Prithu, Brihat and Brihad, which last "equates with Cymric Welsh Pryd-ain for Brit-on," and he gives a number of variants used by the Cassi Britons from Barata to Piritum. Later Phœnicians used Parat, Prat (the actual spelling being PRT), Prydi and Prudi on tombstones, calling the graves *khabr*=Gothic *kubl* : while the geographer Pytheas, (4th century B.C.) copied by Ptolemy and other Greeks, used Pret-anikai and Pret-anoi for the Brit-ons. In the 3rd century A.D., the inhabitants of Parth-enia (Tarsus) called themselves Barats, as seen on their coins.

Such is Waddell's philological argument in brief for philologists to judge, and then he adverts, upon the evidence of certain coins, to the origin of the name Britannia.

*Britannia.*

The first four coins show prototypes of the figure (reversed) of Britannia on the modern British penny and half-penny. No. 1 has an inscription "Koinon Lukao Barateōn, the Commonwealth of the Lycaon Baratas," *i.e.*, the Barats of Lycaonia in Cilicia about Iconium, Konia, which contained "the ancient city of Barata." No. 2 is a coin of Iconium ; No. 3 of Hadrian ; No. 4 of Antonine. On these Waddell remarks :—"these coins, with others of the same type elsewhere, are of immense historical importance for recovering the lost history of the Britons in Britain and in their early homeland, as they now disclose the hitherto unknown origin of the modern British main tutelary Britannia, and prove her to be of Hitto-Phœnician origin." The criticism here is obvious : it is quite possible that they show nothing more than

[6] Waddell here is adopting a process of his own. First he says that a thing *may be* so and so, and later argues that is so and so, basing further argument on a supposition taken as a fact.

that successive artists copied old coins without reference to racial history. One would like to have a history of the Britannia coins, showing how the modern forms actually arose, point by point, before drawing such an inference as that above made.

"This benevolent marine and earth tutelary goddess of Good Fortune . . . . has been *surmised* by modern numismatists to be the late Greek goddess of Fortune (Tychê) the Fortune of the Romans . . . . about B.C. 490." And then Waddell has a remarkable excursion into Vedic etymology :—her proper name is now disclosed by the Vedic hymns of the Eastern branch of the Aryan Barats to have been Bhārati, meaning 'belonging to the Bharats.' She is also called therein Brihad the divine (Brihad-divā)[7] : and she seems to be identical with Prit-vi or Mother Earth. Her special abode was on the Saras-vatī River, which I [Waddell] find was the modern 'Sarus River' in Cilicia which entered the sea at Tarsus, the Tarz of its own coins . . . . In these Vedic hymns all the attributes of Britannia are accounted for . . . . She is hailed as the First-made mother in a hymn to her son Napat the Son of the Waters . . . . (thus disclosing the remote Aryan origin of the name and personality of the old Sea-god, Neptune and his horses and accounting for Neptune's trident in his hand)," and so on at length to much similar purpose. I cannot follow Waddell here. There is no word or name *bṛihad*, the *t* of *bṛihat* becoming *d* when combined with *diva* by a well-known grammatical rule in Sânskrit, and neither *bṛihat* nor *bṛihad-diva* are proper names. If Bhāratī is called *bṛihad-divâ* it merely denotes that she was held to be "heavenly, celestial." There is also, so far as I understand, no Sanskrit term Pritvî meaning the Earth, the terms being Pṛithivī, Pṛithvī, Prathivī, Prithvī, which all have the root sense of 'breadth,' and are not at all the same thing as Pritvī. And why go to Cilicia for the original of Sarasvatī? Unless, of course, we agree with Waddell that the ancient Sanskrit works, the *Vedas*, the *Epics*, the *Purânas*, do not refer to India at all historically. And these are not all the difficulties here.

Waddell, however, goes even further in his etymological excursions by deriving the name "Fortuna, by which the Romans called this Barat tutelary goddess,"[8] from Barati, through her name was apparently really Bhāratī, or Fort-una, "Una . . . . derived from the Hitto-Sumerian *ana*, one. So Fortuna is a title of 'one of the Barats' (or Fortune)."

He next goes to "the records of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, both of which lands are now disclosed in these pages to have derived their civilisation from the Aryan Phœnicians," who must thus have been ancient indeed. In ancient Egypt he finds "Bāīrthy, goddess of the Water, whose name and functions are thus seen to be precisely those of the Aryan tutelary Bārati (or Britannia). Here he gives an Egyptian figure similar to that on the Britannia coins as "Brit-annia tutelary of the Phœnicians in ancient Egypt as Bāīrthya," who is "the Lady Protector of Zapuna" or of the "Sailings of the Panags," *i.e.*, of the Phœnicians Waddell's own reading of the hieroglyphs is "Zapunaq."

We are next launched into Greek etymology. "Besides being the original of Britannia, the Phœnician tutelary Barati or Brihad the divine, is now seen to be *presumably* the Brito-Martis, tutelary goddess of Crete . . . . civilised by the Phœnicians, who are now disclosed as the authors of the so-called Minoan civilisation there. This goddess, Brito-Martis, was a Phœnician goddess." She was identified with Diana, "like the tutelary goddess Parthanos." Here remarks Waddell : "Parthenos, as a title for Diana or Athene appears to have been coined by the Greeks from that of Baratī."[9] And then he says :—"the British bearing of this identity of Barati and Brito-Martis with Diana is . . . . that the first king of the

[7] *Bṛihat* (*vṛihat*) is an adjectival expression in Sanskrit meaning great, wide, lofty, expansive It is not a proper name. *Bṛihad-diva*, *vṛihad-diva*, is also an adjectival expression : 'belonging to the lofty sky, heavenly, celestial.'

[8] He began, however, by saying that this was only a *surmise* of modern numismatists.

[9] Might it not have merely meant that these goddesses were regarded by the Greeks as virgins ?

Britons had Diana (who bore also the title of Perathen or Britannia) as his tutelary." Brito-Martis is the origin of the provincial expression 'O my eye and Betty Martin' arising out of "the dog-Latin form in the Romish Church liturgies 'O Mihi Brito-Martis'" This leads to a delicious observation :—" if the first part of the sentence does not actually preserve an invocation to her under her old title of Mahī, or the great Earth-Mother, the Maia of the Greeks and Romans and the goddess May of the British May-pole spring festival."[10]

*Briton, Britain, British.*

Here we have some truly wonderful philology. Briton, Britain and British are all "derived from this early Phœnician Barat title," for "the original form of the name Brit-on is now disclosed to have been Bharat-ana or Brihad-ana, as the affix *ana* is the Hitto-Sumerian for 'one.'" So the English 'one,' the Scottish 'ane,' the Greek and Roman 'an, ene,' Latin una, Greek oin-os, Gothic einn, ains, Swedish en, Sanskrit anu (an atom) are all of Hitto-Sumerian origin. Similarly Brit-ain, "the Land of the Brit, presumes an original Barat-una (or Brihat-ana) . . . . like Rajput-ana, Gond-wana in India."

The above quotations show sufficiently Waddell's philological method, and we now pass on to the title Gy-āolownie or Gi-oln, which is important as it "discloses the identity of the traditional Part-olon, king of the Scots."

(*To be continued.*)

## THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

### THIRD SESSION (1924), MADRAS.

THE All-India Oriental Conference held its third session at the Senate House, Madras, on the 22nd of December and on the two following days. The success of this session of the Conference was largely due to the untiring zeal of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University Professor of History and Archæology, who was the Secretary, and the hearty co-operation of a strong and influential Committee, formed in May last to make the necessary arrangements.

At 11-30 A.M., on Monday the 22nd of December the spacious hall of the Senate House was full to overflowing with scholars and several distinguished *savants* from all parts of India. The company included a few ladies. The proceedings began in true Oriental fashion with Indian music, and Vedic, Tamil and Arabic chants.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, welcomed the members on behalf not only of the University, but also of the people of Madras. In his speech he pointed out that it was but proper that one of the earliest meetings of the Conference should be held in Madras, the centre of Dravidian culture, one of the most potent elements in the Hindu culture of to-day. He deplored the untimely death of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, who took a very keen interest in the Conference and was to have presided over its deliberations. He referred to the value of such a conference of scholars, engaged in different branches of study. The interchange of thought, the comparison of experience, and the contact of mind with mind have more lasting influences than papers, however learned and scholarly. The most effective influences are the spoken word and personal intercourse. He was gratified to note that the sympathetic study of the past was not unaccompanied in the Indian Renaissance by the study of the languages of the present-day, unlike the European Renaissance, which in its enthusiasm for the classics ignored the modern languages. His concluding suggestion was that the whole country should be divided on a linguistic basis, and that each division should work out the details of its own languages and dialects, and he hoped that the Madras Conference might institute a linguistic society of India with this end in view

In opening the proceedings, His Excellency Viscount Goschen, Governor of Madras and Chancellor of the University, made a scholarly speech befitting the occasion. His Excellency who described himself as "an enthusiastic amateur" in the field of research

[10] All no doubt connected with the Māyā of the Buddhist and the old Sanskrit philosophies !

which is the object of the Conference, surveyed rapidly all the important contributions to our knowledge of the history of civilisation. His Excellency emphasized the need, in these days of hurry and bustle, "to turn from the present day world, and in imagination to throw our minds back to a world of generations long ago, and to cogitate on ancient writings and ancient inscriptions, ancient architecture and ancient schools of thought" and referred to the connection of India with other countries in the past and to the ample scope offered for research. His Excellency pointed out how the recent excavations of Mohenjo Daro have opened a new vista, and referred to the great names in historical and archæological researche. In conclusion, His Excellency said, "one could roam at length down these fascinating bypaths, each leading on into another and affording glimpses of romantic and historical views which urge one on; but you are all far better acquainted than I am with the journey and I must ask your indulgence for having as an amateur, though may I say, an enthusiastic amateur, attached myself to so distinguished a band of travellers. May the result of your labours be an addition to that sum of knowledge, to which your distinguished predecessors to whom I have alluded to-day so greatly contributed."

Then Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar proposed Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, to the chair with Shamsu'l-Ulema Dr. Modi seconding. The learned Doctor took the chair amidst applause and delivered his address and made many practical suggestions. He deplored the fact that Oriental research has not received the attention it deserved in this country and emphasised the need for a central organisation, a little public sympathy, and University patriotism. For the proper interpretation of India's past history, we in India have certain facilities, which foreign Indologists with the best of motives and the greatest sympathy have not. It is not true that Indians, by nature, lack critical faculty, as is sometimes urged. The President alluded to various examples of high critical acumen exhibited by the great Indian thinkers, like Patañjali of old and the modern Vaiyakâranikas and Naiyâyikas. He urged "it is high time that our universities and institutes shook themselves free from the notion that they could not carry on Oriental research."

Turning to the question of Manuscripts he said it was criminal to neglect them any longer. The ancient history of our land, political, religious, and military, has to be reconstructed on more logical lines than hitherto by a judicious use of Manuscripts, many of which are crumbling to pieces and are being lost every day, never to be recovered again. Incalculable good would result to Oriental scholarship, if only the various provincial governments could make up their minds to spend the paltry sum of a lakh of rupees among them. He emphasized not only the need for acquiring Manuscripts by purchase or by transcription, but also the need for their preservation. Mere cataloguing, good in its own way, does not go far. What is true of Sanskrit literature, in this direction, is true of Arabic, Persian and Vernacular literature. The scope for research is unlimited, as the President pointed out. "The exploration of the single site of Pataliputra has shown what treasure may come to light by such exploration, and the sites of most of our ancient capitals have still to be investigated. Has not the mere digging of a site in Sindh provided information, which bids fair to revolutionise all modern conceptions regarding the antiquity of Indian civilization. Then again, meteorology has not even been attempted, and astronomy has been barely touched. Similarly, medicine, and chemistry have been worked just enough to become inviting subjects of research. In law very little has been done. Dramaturgy and poetics in general have just begun to be studied. In philosophy much has been done. But very much more remains. In *Nyâya-Vaiseśika* and in *Pûrva Mîmâmsa* all that we have done has been pure spade work; in the domain of the Kashmirian Saiva Philosophy, even spade work has not been done on the inter-relations of the several philosophical systems: there are many inviting problems still unsolved. In fact,

the field is so vast that one feels staggered when one finds the handful of men that there are who could do the work. "

Next he took up the question of the publication of manuscripts, and paid a glowing tribute to the *Bibliotheca Indica,* Trivandrum, Baroda, Kashmir, Vanivilâsa and Chaukhamba series for their admirable work. In this connection he referred to the need for greater co-ordination and more advertisement.

In laying stress on the need for research and modern methods of style, the learned President himself, versed in the old learning, did not forget the value of the old type of scholars. " If outsiders," said he, " look upon this country with deep respect, it is by virtue of our Śâstris and Maulvîs. Let us cherish them in their purity. " He denounced the introduction of examinations for Paṇḍits and Maulvîs, and pointed out how in this country examinations, instead of being slaves, have arrogated to themselves the position of masters. The passing of examinations has become a *parama-purushartha.* Under this system, according to which no depth of scholarship is necessary to pass an examination, the scholarship for which the Paṇḍits of Benares were famous has almost disappeared. In the indigenous system a man continued his studies as long as he found any one able to teach him. There was no examination to put an end to one's studies. " No modern scholar can claim to have that knowledge of his subject, which these Paṇḍits had, and that was due to thorough specialization. Paṇḍits sometimes worked at a single sentence of an important text for hours together. He appealed to those in power not to try to modernise the Paṇḍit or the Maulvî. These latter may not possess the wide outlook of the modern scholar, but they more than compensated for that by their depth of learning.

The Mahâmahopâdhyâya then dwelt at some length on the need for a revision of the canons of research in fixing the dates of men and events in the interpretation of ancient documents and texts, and the need for unbiassed study of our old texts. " From the oldest Bhâshyakâras up to our own day, we find that a writer before he takes up a text for study or annotation has made up his mind as to what the text contains ; and it is only after this that he begins to study it." This, though pardonable in older writers, who were avowed propagandists like the great Sankarâchârya, cannot be tolerated in the present generation of writers, who set themselves up as unbiassed researchers after truth. " The *Brahma-sûtras,* in fact all the more important philosophical *sûtras,* have still got to be studied in this spirit." He exhorted those present to develop a passion for veracity.

Lastly, the learned President disillusioned the audience in regard to the impression abroad that this Conference is intended for only antiquated fossils who spend their time in lifeless, dry and dull subjects, which have and should have no interest for the modern Indian. " It is equally our aim to endeavour to promote and encourage higher work in the modern languages of India. The classical languages must inevitably be for the learned few ; the people at large can be raised and elevated, and can feel the live influence of literature and learning only through the vernaculars. The history of these (vernacular) literatures has to be written, and the origin and development of these languages have yet to be traced."

His Excellency the Governor and the President of the Conference were then garlanded by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The Rev. Dr. Macphail proposed a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for opening the Conference, and for delivering his scholarly address. The opening session terminated with a group photograph.

The delegates were invited in the afternoon to a Vidwat Parishad at the Sanskrit College, Mylapore. The orthodox recital of texts and disputations in the styles of the Gûrukula days of yore were conducted in the *Śâstras,* His Highness the Ex-Râja of Cochin, a Sanskrit scholar of reputation, and a student of *Tarka,* presiding. The proceedings were conducted entirely

in Sanskrit, which is often supposed mistakenly to be altogether a dead language. This over, the members and delegates were entertained by Mr. Alladi Krishnasami Aiyar, a member of the College Committee.

This was followed by a lantern lecture by Dr. K. N. Sitaraman on Indian Architecture.

*The 2nd day. The Reading of Papers.*—The number of papers submitted to the Conference was very nearly 200. It was, therefore, resolved to divide the Conference into three sections; Language, Literature and Philosophy going into one section, and History, Geography, and Anthropology into another, while Dravidian and other Languages constituted a third. These were presided over respectively by Dr. Jha, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Dacca, and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. For the Uruda group of papers Principal Muhammad Shafi of Lahore presided. The first section had as many as 75 papers to deal with, the second about 60, and the third about 35. The cutting of the time allowed for discussion, and the enforcing of the time limit, alone rendered it possible to get through so large a number. The subjects were varied, and the amount of information brought to bear on them was really amazing. On the second day there were two sessions, during which a large number of these papers were read. In the evening, the Andhra Sahitya Parishad were at home to the delegates, and exhibited various manuscripts. There was a distribution of shawls with gold borders to the learned Paṇḍits and Maulvîs, specially invited to the Conference. This was closely followed by the Presidency College Sanskrit Association's a performance of the *Mṛicchakaṭika* (the Little Clay Cart). The performance was a splendid exhibition of literary and histrionic talent by the students, and was much appreciated.

*3rd day.*—On the third day there was a Literary Session from 8 to 11 A.M.

The business Meeting was held between 1-30 and 2-30 P.M., when the report of the Calcutta Session was presented by the Honorary Secretary and adopted. An All-India Committee was appointed to draft a constitution. To this Committee was referred the question of a *Journal* for the Conference, and other kindred questions. The invitation of the Allahabad University to the Conference to hold its next session there, was also accepted.

The President was then thanked and garlanded, and was presented with a gold shawl. Mr. V. P. Vaidya proposed thanks to all those who rendered this session a success.

Later there was an exhibition of Hindu Music in various forms, vocal and instrumental. This consisted of a long, varied, and interesting programme.

The success of this session of the Conference was largely due to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the Secretary, and Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, the Joint Secretary, both of whom spared no pains to arrange every detail and to look after the delegates from the various parts of India.

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# THE TATTVA PRAKASA.

*(Of King Śrî Bhojadeva.)*

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. E. P. JANVIER, M.A., FATEHGARH, WITH A FOREWORD BY DR. J. N. FARQUHAR.

## Foreword.

THE early history of the great Śaiva sects is far from clear. The two chapters in the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, called respectively *Nakulîśa Pâśupata* and *Śaiva Darśana*, give us sketches of the teaching of two contrasted schools.

In the later books belonging to the type of the *Śaiva Darśana* there are statements to the effect that the former type was revealed by Rudra, the latter by Śiva: (see Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Śaivism, etc.*, 126-7; 16) and it is quite clear that the two groups of sects differ largely from each other both in teaching and practice. In my *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, I have ventured to distinguish the groups as *Pâśupata Śaivas* and *Āgamic Śaivas*, because the teaching of the latter group rests finally on the *Āgamas*, while the former goes back, as Mâdhava shews us, at least to the time of the formation of the Lakulîśa Pâśupata sect, which appeared long before the *Āgamas* were written.

In Mâdhava's essay, *Śaiva Darśana*, a good many of the ancient books are mentioned, especially the following *Āgamas*, *Mṛigendra*, *Paushkara*, *Karaṇa*, *Kâlottara*, *Kiraṇa* and *Saurabheya*, and two works of which I know nothing, the *Bahudaivatya* and the *Tattva Saṅgraha*. Several ancient scholars are also mentioned, the Siddha Guru, Aghora Śiva Āchârya, Râma Kaṇṭha, Soma Śambhu and Nârâyaṇa Kaṇṭha; but they also seem to be otherwise unknown. But there are three quotations from a treatise called *Tattva Prakâśa* and one from Bhojarâjâ; and it now turns out that Bhojarâjâ, king of Mâlwâ, who reigned at Dhârâ, 1018—1060 A.D., is the author of the *Tattva Prakâśa*. The text has been found, and is published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series; and all four quotations occur in it, I. 6, 7, 13, 17, and also a fifth passage which is referred to, I. 8-10.

It is clear that several sects come under the general category of Āgamic Śaivas, notably the Vîra Śaivas and the Tamil Śaiva Siddhânta. Cowell and Gough, in their translation of the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, take it for granted that the system described as the Śaiva Darśana is identical with the system of the Tamil Śaiva school; but whether the system is identical or not, it is clear there were two distinct groups, one scattered all over India whose literature was in Sanskrit, the other found only in the South, its literature all in Tamil. It also seems probable that the earliest books of the Sanskrit literature were written several centuries before the earliest books of the Tamil dogmatic began to appear.

I should therefore be inclined to conjecture that the earliest books of the *Śaiva Darśana* were written by the Siddha Guru and other leaders at early dates, say between 500 and 1000 A.D., and that the *Tattva-prakâśa*, written probably between 1030 and 1050 A.D., proved one of the simplest and clearest manuals of the sect, so that it was well fitted for quotation in a brief essay such as Mâdhava's is; and that the later books, including Śrikaṇṭha Śivâchârya's *Bhâshya*, which are discussed by Bhandarkar, are the continuation of the same movement. It is probable that the people who professed the system were mainly Smârtas: that is clearly true of Bhojadeva; and the few families which, to my knowledge, still profess the system in the South are Smârtas resident in the Tanjore and Tinnevelly districts. It is possible that careful inquiry might discover others in North India who still cherish the old literature.

The Tamil Śaiva Siddhânta rests primarily on the Tamil hymns of the great early singers, and the sect is a popular one, with many adherents among the common people all over the South. It is probable that the Tamil dogmatic was produced partly under the stimulus of the Sanskrit books. Yet it is also probable that the two systems differ in a number of details: the Vedantic standpoint of the Sanskrit system is certainly Viśishṭâdvaita, while the Tamil Śaiva standpoint is called Śivâdvaita.

The *Tattva Prakâśa* has been translated into English by the Rev. E. P. Janvier, M. A., of Fatehgarh, and is here published in the hope that it may help in the study of the teaching and the history of both schools.—J.N.F.

### Chapter I.

1. May He, whose essence is intellect, the one, the eternal, the pervasive, the ever-risen, the Lord, the tranquil, the world's primal cause, the all-favouring,—may He be supreme!

2. The glory of Śiva, which neither rises nor sets, nor is destroyed, gives final release, and which is by nature both knower and doer,—may that glory be supreme!

3. To her, by whom this Śiva is energized to give experience and release to his circle of animate beings,—to her, the one who is, in essence, thought, the first, with all my soul I make obeisence.

4. For the sake of benefiting the world, we have, with a heart full of pity, succinctly composed this "Illumination of the Principles."

5. In the Saivâgamas the most important thing is the series of three, namely the Master, the animate being, and the fetter, *i.e.*, *pati*, *paśu*, *pâśa*. In this series the Master is called Siva, Animate Beings atoms, the Fetter the five objects.

6. Those whose souls are freed are themselves Sivas, but they are freed by His favour. He, it should be borne in mind, is the eternally freed, the one, having a body consisting of the five *mantras*.

7. The following five-fold action is predicated of the ever-risen one: creation, preservation, destruction, embodiment, and likewise the work of grace.

8. Souls are to be known as of three kinds: molecules of discernment, molecules of destruction, and whole molecules. Of these the first are under the influence of corruption, and the second under that of corruption and action.

9. The whole molecules are under the influence of corruption, matter and action. Of these the first is of two kinds: first, those whose impurity is destroyed, and, second, those whose impurity is not destroyed.

10. Showing favour to the first eight, Śiva gives to them the rank of Lords of Knowledge. The others he makes Mantras. These are said to be seventy million.

11, 12, 13. Among the molecules of destruction, whose corruption and action are done away, showing favour to some, the Highest grants them the rank of King of the Worlds. Others he, of his own will, makes Lords of the Mantras. Of these there are one hundred and eighteen. At the time of the opening of the day the whole molecules exist as a residuum because of their connection with art and the rest. *These* others, being united by the force of previous action to the eight-doored bodies, enter all wombs. The eight-doored consists of the internal organ and the instruments of the action of intellect.

14. Eight of these are called "Mandalins," and an equal number are Krodh, etc., Vireś and Śrîkaṇṭha and the hundred Rudras. These together are one hundred and eighteen.

15. In order by an act of power to deliver those whose corruption is matured, He, assuming the form of a teacher, unites them by initiation to the highest principle.

16. All the souls that are bound He appoints to the experience of sense-objects, according to their previous actions. This is the reason that they are called "beasts."

17. The fetters of the soul are of four kinds: the first two are called "corruption" and "action," and the other two arise from the material and obscuring energy of Śiva.

18. Corruption is to be regarded as single, but showing many powers; and, as the husk covers the rice, or the stain of the copper covers the gold, so corruption covers the knowledge and action of souls.

19. Action is said to be beginningless, good and bad, and various. Matter, being in the form of substance, is the root of the universe, and it is eternal.

20. Because it is favourable to the fetters, the soul-obscuring power of the Creator is called a fetter. Thus the fetters are four-fold.

## Chapter II.

1. In all *the books*, from first to last, they call the five pure principles the Śiva principle. There is always energy in the Śiva principle, and in the principle called the "Science of God."

2. In order that the soul may be cognizant and efficient, there arise from matter five principles,—time and destiny, and likewise art, and science and passion.

3. From matter arise, one from another, the unmanifest, the quality principle, intellect, egoism, mind, the organs of intellect, and action, their objects, also, and the physical elements.

4. Primarily for the experience of the soul there arise the twenty. There are, also, the three, between which and the qualities of matter there is fundamentally no difference.

5. The teachers describe the Śiva principle as pervasive, single, eternal, the cause of the whole universe, characterized by knowledge and activity.

6. It is in reliance on this that desire and all the other energies perform their individual functions. Hence they call this the "all-favouring" one.

7. The first slightest movement of this one, who desired to create for the benefit of the intelligent and unintelligent, that is called the Power principle, and is not distinguished from himself.

8. The outreach that exists in the absence of increase or decrease, in the powers of knowledge and action,—that the enlightened call the "Sadâśiva" Principle.

9. When the energy called knowledge is in abeyance, and action is in the ascendant, that is called the "Îśvara" Principle. It is always the performer of the functions of all.

10. Where the functioning power is in abeyance, and the one called knowledge obtains the ascendancy, the principle is called "Science." It is enlightening because of being in the form of knowledge.

11. The whole molecules, tone and syllable, are said to be ever dependent on the Sadâśiva principle ; again, the lords of the sciences on the Lord, and the mantras and sciences on Science.

12. There is in this world really no series of all these five, because of the absence of time ; but for practical purposes, an arrangement of them has indeed been made in the text-book.

13. There is in reality one principle, called Śiva, sketched as having a hundred various powers. Because of the difference in operation of the powers, these differences have been set in order as belonging to it.

14. For the sake of favouring the intelligent and unintelligent, the Lord, assuming these forms, performs an act of kindness to the intelligent beings whose powers are held in check by beginningless corruption.

15. To the atoms the all-favouring Śiva grants experience and liberation in their own functions, and to the brutish breed, strength to perform its proper task.

16. This surely is an act of grace for the intelligent, that liberation should have the form of Śiva—lkeness. He, because of the beginninglessness of action, does not reach perfection without experience in this world.

17. Hence, in order to provide for his gaining experience, the Creator creates the body, the instruments and the universe. For there is no result without an actor, nor yet without material and instrumental causes.

## Chapter III.

1. The energies are known to be his instruments, matter his material. The latter is described as subtle, single, eternal, pervasive, without beginning or end, kindly.

2. Common to all beings ; this is the cause, also, of all worlds, for it is involved in the actions of every person ; by its own nature it is productive of infatuation.

3. Having consideration for actions, Śiva, by his own powers, causes change in matter, and to every soul gives bodies and their instruments to have experience withal.

4. Matter, being possessed of various powers, creates in the beginning the time principle only, binding the world into the forms of past, present and future : hence it is time.

5. Destiny is in the form of destining force ; it, also, arises next from matter. Because it destines everything, therefore it is called destiny.

6. Afterwards art arises from matter. Gathering the corruption of the souls, it reveals active power ; hence in this world it is called "art."

7. With the help of time and destiny, matter is constantly doing its work of creation on everything, from the smallest particle to the earth.

8. For the purpose of revealing sense-objects to the soul, whose active power has been awakened, this art brings forth the science principle, which is in the form of light.

9. This, by its own action, breaking through the obstruction to the power called knowledge, reveals the mass of sense-objects. It is in this world the highest instrument of the self.

10. When intelligence becomes capable of being experienced by the soul, and has the form of pleasure, etc., then science becomes the instrument. But intelligence is the instrument in the perception of sense-objects.

11. Passion is enthralment without distinction between the objects of sense. It is the ordinary cause of the attachment of the soul, and is different from the characteristics of intellect.

12. Bound by these principles, when the animate being reaches the state of having conscious experience, then it is called "soul" and is given a place among the principles.

### Chapter IV.

1. For the experience, assuredly, of this very soul, the unrevealed is born of this *matter*. This unrevealed is undefined because of its unmanifested qualities.

2. From the unrevealed springs the quality principle, too, in the form of enlightenment, operation and restraint, called "sattva, rajas, tamas" and *producing* pleasure, pain and infatuation.

3. From the three elements arises intellect. It is said, also, to have the characteristic of distinguishing between sense-objects. This, too, is of three kinds by quality in accordance with actions of previous births.

4. Egoism is three-fold, being in the form of life, action and pride of power. By union with it an existant sense-object comes into experience.

5. Egoism is, further, divided three-fold according to the difference between the qualities "sattva, rajas and tamas ;" and it is called by the names "modifying, passionate, elemental."

6. From the passionate arises mind, from the modifying arise the senses, and from the elemental the regions. This is the order of their emanation from that.

7. Mind is in the form of desire, and its business is consideration ; the instruments of the intellect are the ear, skin, eye, tongue and nose.

8. The percepts of these are sound, touch, form, taste and smell. These are, respectively, their sense-objects, even five of five.

9. The perception of sound, etc., respectively, is said to be the function of these. The voice, hands, feet, and the organs of excretion are the organs of action.

10. Speaking, grasping, walking, excretion and satisfaction, are the action of these. The internal organ is three-fold and is called egoism, intellect and mind.

11. Because of the distinction between organs of intellect and organs of action, they, again are ten. With respect to their regions, they are ether, air, fire, water, earth : these are the five physical elements.

12. The subtle forms of sound, etc., are called their regions. The five physical elements arise from these five by the addition of one quality after another.

13. Giving space, blowing, cooking, collecting and bearing, are described as the respective functions of the physical elements, ether, etc.

### Chapter V.

1. That which is the ten-fold activity is performed when undertaken by the instrumental causes. The instrumental causes, because of their innate weakness, act in dependence upon result.

2. The first five belong to one class, because they are of the form of thought; but the remaining seven, beginning with matter, are said in the Śaiva to be of two kinds.

3. In this world the connection of all, from the unrevealed on, is with the qualities, because of their being in the form of pleasure, pain and infatuation. There is this peculiarity in the last ten.

4. Despite a similarity in quality between sound, etc., and the unrevealed, because they are not equivalent, the one to the other, a separate class is to be recognized here. Also, there is a special case of some through the connection caused by the latency of the effect in the cause.

5. The standing of all the principles has been related in order of creation. In the end, when the process is reversed, they sink back into matter.

6. Apart from matter every pure species sinks back into energy; and this stands at one with Śiva the soul of all.

7. Matter, Soul, Siva,—this triad survives at the destruction of the world. Again, this becomes active, as before, in creation.

8. Through mercy to all the wearied creatures in the world, the Lord causes the destruction of the universe, that these very beings may have rest.

### Chapter VI.

1. Through pity for the animate beings, the highest Lord grants yet again, creation to those tormented by the fact that their action is not matured. Thus he matures the action of the embodied.

2. Having granted maturity of action through experience, and so, having performed the initiatory ceremonies, the one fount of mercy, the ever-gracious Siva, by an act of power, releases all animate beings.

3. That among all existences causing experience, which remains to the end of the age, is called a principle. Hence a body, a jar, or the like, is not a principle.

4. The source of each principle and its primary and secondary causes, also the arrangement of all the principles, have been related.

5. Moreover, the principle of principles, on which this whole universe rests, has been told easily. The glorious King Bhojadeva has arranged "The Illumination of the principles."

### A few Notes on Tattva Prakâśâ.

I, 8. The originals of "molecules of discernment," "molecules of destruction," and "whole molecules" are, respectively,—*vijñānakalā, pralayakalā* and *sakalā*. It is a question in my mind whether it is better to retain the Sanskrit terminology even in the translation, explaining it in the notes, or to translate this terminology as nearly as possible.

I, 9. "The first," *viz.*, molecules of discernment.

I, 11, 12, 13. The translation of these verses is very difficult, owing to the fact that, as they stand in the Sanskrit they mean next to nothing. By a manipulation of the verses, which is indicated in the notes, the translation given here is educed. Is it better to try to make sense from the verses as they stand, or to commingle them as the notes indicate, fitting parts of different verses into each other, so as to make the perhaps better sense of the present translation?

I, 16. "Beasts"—This word I have consistently translated by the term "animate being," as in I, 5, but here I have departed from that translation because the context seemed to demand it.

II, 1. "Science of God"—The original is *Îśvaravidyâ.* Should it be translated ?

II, 4. "The twenty" have been named in the immediately preceding verses. "The three" are those of I, 5.

II, 8. *Sadâśiv*—Should this term be translated ? If so, how ?

II, 9. *Îśvara*—Of course, this can be translated "lord" or "lordly"; but the question is whether it would make the matter clearer to do so. What policy should one pursue in such matters ?

II, 10. "Science"—*Vidya.* The same question here.

II, 15. "Brutish breed"—*viz.*, the fetters.

II, 16. "He"—*viz.*, the intelligent.

III, 6. There is a play here in the original on *kalâ* and *kalayitva.* It seems almost impossible to reproduce this in translation, though it is important to do so.

VI, 5. "The Illumination of the Principles"—This is the way I have translated *Tattva Prakâśa.* Would it be acceptable as the title of the whole, in place of the Sanskrit name ?

## BOOK-NOTICES.

The Home of an Eastern Clan: A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States. By Mrs. Leslie Milne. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1924.

We have in this volume another of the excellent books that Mrs. Milne gives us from time to time. In this case the tribes inhabiting part of British Burma, with which she deals, are brought before us in a manner that leaves little to be desired. Mrs. Milne is indeed an experienced and honest observer of human beings, and anthropologists have reason to be once more grateful for her energy, courage and capacity for telling her story.

She starts in her characteristic way by saying that "this book is concerned for the most part with the Katur [Samlong] tribe of the Palaungs, living in or near Namhsan, the capital of Tawngpeng [Taungbaing], which is nominally a Shan State, but is governed by a Palaung Chief and inhabited almost entirely by Palaungs." Mrs. Milne chose her place of observation well, and she next tells us how she came to know a people seldom seen outside their own States, and what is far more important, in detail how she learnt a language of which she knew nothing at all from a people who in their turn knew nothing of any language but their own. I know what this means, as many years ago I set to work to learn the language of savages in the same circumstances. I found that the savage was quite as bent on learning my language as I was on learning his, and entirely unable to explain his little peculiarities of grammar, which by the way included grammatical changes at the beginning of his words—African fashion—a habit that caused much thought and delay in ascertaining why apparently different words were invariably used for the same object each time he was questioned. Mrs. Milne in her entertaining way tells us how she learnt Palaung, and I would advise all searchers into the speech of wild tribes and the like to study her remarks seriously. She found willing, even devoted, helpers, largely I take it, though she never hints it, owing to her own personality—brave, kindly, energetic, humourous, sympathetic. She also gives us a bright and informing narrative of the journey into the wild hills occupied by the Palaungs, and though her narrative is always lively, it is quite easy to see that her journeys could only have been accomplished by a woman prepared to face all difficulties with an intrepid heart.

Passing on to the main contents of the book, it will be found to be most systematically put together, so as to tell the whole story point by point. Beginning with History and a short excursion into Ethnology, we shall find that the Palaungs are a Mon-Khmer people fixed in a land chiefly occupied by Shans and dominated by them : only one State, that of Tawngpeng, being, as already said, under a Palaung chief, whose capital Namhsan is, from an illustration, a typical Far Eastern village on the top of one of the many hills in the Shan States.

After this Mrs. Milne takes us through the Palaung's life from birth to death. Beginning with the baby, she writes : "The life of a Palaung, like that of a Shan, is hedged about with racial and family traditions, and much that I wrote in my book on the Shans [*Shans at Home*] applies to the Palaungs, in so far as their early childhood is concerned, but there the resemblance ends." Every detail, and they are all valuable, is then given of the baby's life and upbringing, together with the superstitious practices in connection

therewith; even the songs sung to it and its games are recorded. The naming custom by the week-day seem to be typically Far-Eastern, it may be remarked in passing, and it is also pleasant to see that "a little child has a happy life in the villages of the Palaung and Palê [a clan of the Palaungs]."

"Little children between the ages of four and nine or ten enjoy a good deal of freedom," and soon learn to make themselves useful. They certainly live in beautiful situations, are carefully taught the ways of life, sing many songs (recorded by Mrs. Milne), have counting-out games, indulge in a secret language and unfortunately learn too much about the Spirits. "The boys and girls and all unmarried folk of a Palaung village are looked after, as to their conduct, by certain elderly men and women," the *Pakk'edang*, who are wealthy and respectable, and appointed for the purpose to teach them manners and to watch over propriety of behaviour. There is a certain amount of initiation to life by ordeal, all regulated. It will be seen that it is not a bad thing to be born a Palaung child. When boys have been tattooed and girls have passed the ordeal of the *pruh*, they cease to be children and become young men and maidens, and love-making begins. This is an elaborate affair, much regulated and controlled by custom, and magic is resorted to, to settle the right suitor to marry as the courtship proceeds. This sometimes ends in illegitimate children, generally, however legitimised by subsequent marriage. But the Palaungs make good husbands and wives and are faithful to each other.

As in Europe, so among the Palaungs, there are favourite months for marriage, which takes place usually between 16 and 25 or more, as regards the girls, the men being older. The marriage is generally an elopement under very strict regulations by custom, there being a great deal of make-believe about it. It ends with a formal recognition by the village elders and is really quite a proper proceeding.

When married, a man must have a house to live in, and as the building of a new house, just as in Burma generally, requires great care and preparation, there is much resort to magic and "wise men" in all the proceedings from the choice of a site. The Palaungs, however, show no great love for their houses, though they are very much attached to their villages, and Mrs. Milne has an interesting little chapter on Home Life. She has much more to say about the Village Life, the village being always in a picturesque situation "on the top of a hill, on a ridge connecting two hills, or on a spur of a hill." Mrs. Milne explains how the people live in it, their habits, manners and customs, their festivities and their fears, and on the whole there are worse places in the world than Palaung villages for natives to live in. The people have no manufactures and make the money to purchase their wants "almost entirely by growing and curing tea and by trading." In this they resemble an allied people, the Nicobarese, who live on the cocoanut palm and its produce, which they sell. With this proviso, Mrs. Milne explains the Palaung method of agriculture, such as it is. Under native, that is Shan or Palaung rule, disputes were settled, "when there was a lack of evidence, by ordeal, in order that the assistance of Spirits might be obtained." Trial by ordeal still takes place *sub rosâ* under British rule. It is not easy to break down immemorial custom. Mrs. Milne, however, has not much to say on this important subject, as she has never personally witnessed such a trial.

"Palaungs believe that nearly all the ills of life are the work of evil spirits." In such circumstances their beliefs in charms and omens are obviously important, and Mrs. Milne goes into them at some length. Speaking generally, their beliefs are those of the secondary Far Eastern peoples. Every Palaung woman desires children, though the customs regarding child-birth give her a bad time—a very bad time. Child-birth, too, is an occasion when primitive superstitions are allowed to run riot more or less. The same may be said of death. Mrs. Milne gives the death customs at large, and some of them are of great interest.

The modern Palaung is a professed Buddhist, but his Buddhism is only skin deep, as, according to their own statement, it was introduced among them by the Burmese king Bodawpaya, who came to the throne as late as 1781. Mrs. Milne explains that it is accordingly of the purer Southern type—the Hinayana, and she gives a brief account of it in some very interesting pages, as it affects the Palaungs. But the people are Animists at heart, *i.e.*, they are Spirit-worshippers, and in this they seem to differ among themselves greatly, but obviously in this respect they are Far-Eastern in feeling. We have it all here, the wandering soul, the metempsychosis, and the rest of it, and on such points Mrs. Milne is most informing. Palaung cosmogony is indefinite, but the people "attach great significance to dreams" and their interpretation. Mrs. Milne winds up her text with the proverbs, riddles and folktales of this little known folk.

She has an Appendix showing differences in custom, which is of exceeding value. For instance, 'elopement' is not the form of marriage among *all* Palaung classes. With these remarks I part company with one of the best field books on ethnology it has been my fortune to come across.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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THE FOLKLORE OF BOMBAY. By R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.

This well-arranged book, which is likely to command much attention from writers on primitive

belief and custom, comprises information collected by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson from schoolmasters in Gujarat and the Konkan, which was subsequently published in the form of Notes under Mr. Enthoven's supervision, and also information on the same lines secured by the author himself from the Deccan and Karnatak, or Kanarese-speaking, districts of the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Enthoven has thus made available to students of Folklore a large mass of authentic fact, which, so far as Bombay is concerned, has never previously been published, and which, when studied in conjunction with the late Dr. Crooke's two volumes on the popular religion and folklore of Northern India, should oblige experts and scholars to pay more attention than they hitherto have to ancient Indian customs and superstitions. In his Introduction Mr. Enthoven refers more than once to Sir James Campbell's valuable notes on "The Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom," which originally appeared in this *Journal*, but rightly points out that spirit possession and spirit-scaring do not suffice, as Sir James Campbell was disposed to believe, to account for all the ideas and habits disclosed by the enquiry initiated by Mr. Jackson and carried to completion by himself, and, in fact, that the origin of the beliefs and practices in vogue among the people of Western India must be sought in various directions.

The author deals fully in his first chapter with the worship of the Sun and other natural objects. In reference to Sun-worship one may add that some people make use of a brass or copper device, *Surya yantra*, in the form of a square inscribed with the names of the regents of the eight quarters, surmounted by two concentric circles bearing the various titles of the Sun-god, the whole surmounted by the well-known device of the triangle within a circle. The device is included in one of the plates in the original edition of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, and specimens have occasionally been obtained of recent years by collectors of brass and copper images. I am glad to find that the author supports my contention that *mrigaṅka*, an epithet of the Moon, signifies "deer-marked." In the first volume of *The Ocean of Story*, edited by Mr. Penzer, *mrigaṅka* is declared to mean "hare-marked," "because Hindus see a hare in the Moon", and in reviewing that work for another journal, I pointed out that *saśânka* or *saśidhara* is the epithet used in this sense, while *mrigaṅka* refers solely to the alternative belief that there is an antelope in the Moon. The practices incumbent upon Hindus during an eclipse are universal throughout India, and students of Maratha history will remember that it was during an eclipse on the night of November 22nd, 1751, that Bussy attacked the Peshwa's army and won an easy victory, owing to the fact that the Marathas were fully engaged in the ceremonies described in Mr. Enthoven's pages. The belief connected with the appearance of a comet is also illustrated historically by the popular view that Sivaji's death was marked by the simultaneous appearance of a comet and a lunar rainbow.

On page 92 it is stated that some people believe in the existence upon mountain-tops of a class of recluses, called Aghori-bavas, who devour human beings. The belief is based upon solid fact. Though the Aghori sect has practically been supressed, there are cases on record for the years 1862, 1878, 1882, 1884 and 1885, in which members of this monstrous confraternity were convicted by British magistrates of anthropophagy. Tod in his *Travels in Western India* mentions Mt. Abu and the Girnar hills as being the headquarters of the sect. The records of the Anthropological Society of Bombay contain all the information available about them in 1892. In his chapter on Spirit Possession and Scaring, in which he deals exhaustively with the Godlings, Mothers and Demons who form the real pantheon of the mass of the people, Mr. Enthoven gives an interesting table showing the caste of the priests who attend on these minor deities. The list by itself is almost sufficient to prove the aboriginal character of these local gods and goddesses, who, though in several cases they may have been adopted into Brahmanic Hinduism as manifestations of the higher gods, have really nothing in common with Aryan ideas. Among the most valuable features of the author's work is his discovery of survivals of a totemistic organization among the lower classes of the Presidency. The facts in respect of various social divisions have been given in the author's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*; and he confines himself, therefore, in the present work to enumerating some of the *devaks* and *balis*, which now represent the totem, and explaining the mode of worshipping them.

In connexion with the passionate feeling respecting the sanctity of the Cow, which is briefly dealt with on page 213, it would be interesting to know exactly when this feeling developed; for it seems clear from the known facts of history that this vehement belief did not exist to a marked degree at the date of Alexander's invasion or under the rule of the Mauryas. Regarding the objection of high-class Hindus to touch or be touched by a dog, it is curious to reflect that the very last scene in the long panorama of the *Mahâbhârata* is that of Yudishthira climbing a mountain in company with his dog, and finally translated, with his dog, to Heaven. The sentiment underlying the hero's insistence upon the entry into Heaven of his faithful hound, is apparently quite foreign to the ideas about the dog now possessed by the Hindu upper-classes. In

the seventh chapter the author deals with the evil eye, magic and witchcraft, and mentions various methods adopted for counteracting the influence of witches. No mention, however, is made of the most potent method of all, viz., witch-murder. Perhaps in this respect the Bombay Presidency is more advanced than Behar and Orissa, where in 1920 the people murdered eleven supposed witches. A similar comment may be made on the subject of the cure of barrenness, which is included in the tenth chapter on women's rites. The murder of children, especially male children, followed by a bath in the blood of the murdered child, is well known in other parts of India as a remedy for sterility. Three cases from the Panjab and United Provinces, which occurred at the close of last century, have been recorded in this *Journal*. Three more cases occurred in the Panjab as recently as 1921. The absence of all reference to this type of ritual murder perhaps justifies the assumption that these savage methods of procuring offspring are no longer countenanced by the people of Western India.

Much more might be written about this pioneer work. The chapter on Village, Field and Other Rites is both important and interesting and should be read by those concerned with the rural economy of Bombay, while the chapter on Disease Deities should equally be known to those who deal with the sanitation of the small towns and villages and with the public health. Mr. Enthoven's work is not merely of value to the expert student of folklore and primitive belief, but possesses a practical value for all who play a part in the administration of the Bombay Presidency.

S. M. EDWARDES.

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BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME, ORIENT, Tome XXIII. 1923. Hanoi, 1924.

In a previous issue of the *Indian Antiquary* I dealt at some length with the history and achievements of the French Far-Eastern School, particularly in regard to its antiquarian researches in Indo-China. The volume that now lies before me affords additional evidence, if this were needed, of the value of the work performed by French orientalists. The first hundred pages and more are occupied by an essay on the relations between Japan and Indo-China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, contributed by M. N. Peri, to which are added separate papers concerning boat-building and shipping in Japan, loans at interest advanced to shippers by the Japanese at that period, and thirdly a Japanese plan of Ankor-Vat. These papers are followed by a remarkable historical reconstruction of the first Chinese conquest of the Annamite country in the third century B.C.,—the work of M. L. Aurousseau. His conclusions, which are worth perusal, are epitomised in the fourth chapter of the essay, and are followed by a long note on the origin of the people of Annam. E. Chavannes, in his masterly translation of the Memoirs of Seu-ma Ts'ien, advanced the opinion that the Annamite race must have had affinity with that of the pre-Chinese kingdom of Yue, which occupied the western portion of the province of Tchö-kiang and was destroyed in the fourth century B.C. M. Aurouseau in his note develops this theory and shows that it accords with certain well-established historical facts.

M. Parmentier contributes some interesting remarks on Indo-Chinese archæology, dealing with recently discovered Cham antiquities, the statue of Vishnu found in 1912 at Vong-thê, which now graces a small Buddhist pagoda, and various Indo-Chinese sculptures, the origin of which has not yet been clearly ascertained. Another important paper is that of "The Vidyârâja" by Mr. Jean Przyluski, described as a contribution to the history of magic among the Mahâyânist sects of Buddhism. He calls pointed attention to the fact that the doctrine of the *Vidyârâja*, or emanations from the *Tathâgata*, finds its exact counterpart in one of the Gnostic scriptures, viz., the Eighth book of Moses, which was unquestionably composed between the second and fourth centuries A.D. Like most Gnostic literature, it is a confused medley of religious beliefs in vogue at that date in the Eastern regions bordering on Greece. It is quite possible that Gnosticism borrowed largely from Indian philosophy, and it is equally possible that India in return felt the influence of various Eastern sects about the fourth century A.D., that is to say, at the time when the idea of *mantrarâja* appears in the Buddhist texts, and when ideas of magic commenced to pervade Mahâyânist literature.

M. F. Goré contributes an interesting collection of notes on the Tibetan regions of Seu-Tch'ouan and Yunnan, which adds considerably to our geographical knowledge of those little-known lands; while ethnologists will find plenty of interesting matter in the miscellaneous papers which complete the literary portion of this volume. They deal with such subjects as "a method of fixing dates in vogue among the Laos", "Magic drums in Mongolia," and "The refuse of a neolithic kitchen-midden at Tam-toa in Annam." A bibliography and official record of the proceedings of the French School occupy the last two hundred pages of a work, which amply illustrates the capacity for painstaking and logical research possessed by the French archæologist and antiquarian.

S. M. EDWARDES.

LA LÉGENDE DE L'EMPEREUR AÇOKA (AÇOKA-AVADÂNA) DANS LES TEXTES INDIENS ET CHINOIS; par J. PRZYLUSKI. Annales du Musée Guimet. Tome XXXII: Paul Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob, Paris. 1923.

This work which is characterized by deep knowledge of Buddhist literature and much analytical capacity, seeks to establish the approximate date, the origin, and the character of the *Aśokâvadâna*, which, while enshrining traditions identical with those appearing in the *Vinaya*, is probably far older than the latter work. At the outset of his thesis the author is able to show that the story of Buddha's journey in the *Aśokâvadâna* is older than the corresponding passage in the *Vinaya*, and secondly that, whereas the author of the former shows an obvious preference for the country round Mathurâ, the compiler of the latter glorifies the more westerly part of the land in which early Buddhism was established. There can be no doubt that Mathurâ exercised much influence on the development and expansion of the Buddhistic doctrine, owing to the fact that it was situated on one of the great Indian trade routes, and also that its monastic scribes had inherited from the Brâhmans of antiquity a knowledge of Sanskrit, as well as literary and philosophical traditions. The earliest Buddhist communities had developed more to the east, principally at Magadha, where the texts embodying the teaching of Buddha were probably recited in the Magadhi dialect and were usually rhythmic, to allow of easy memorising. When Buddhism penetrated the western portion of the Gangetic valley, the monks of Mathurâ, who were conversant with Sanskrit and in general were more intellectual and highly trained than the ancient communities of the eastern region, developed an entirely new literature, of which the *Aśokâvadâna* is one of the most characteristic specimens.

In brief, the author distinguishes three phases in the gradual extension of the faith of Gautama Buddha from the Gangetic valley to the plateaux of Upper Asia, each of which corresponds to a distinct period in the history of Buddhist literature. Originally confined to Magadha and the neighbouring areas, the disciples of Sâkya Muni were content with the production of short compositions in Magadhi, usually in verse. Later, in the plain watered by the Ganges and Jamna, new converts lent to the service of the faith the highly polished prose and dialectics of the old Sanskrit philosophers. This was the period of Mathurâ, during which longer and more perfect works, like the *Aśokavadâna*, were published in Sanskrit. Finally, on reaching Kashmir, Buddhism became more eclectic, lost its character of a local sect, and became a universal religion. This led to the foundation of a third school of writers and compilers, who recast, commented upon, collated, and developed the ancient texts.

In the course of his argument, the author points out that there are three classes of Buddhist works which refer to the Buddhist Councils. The first class speaks of one Council only, the second mentions two, and the third refers to a third Council. The *Aśokâvadâna* falls in the first of these three classes. He also shows that the story of Aśoka's pilgrimage is fairly clear evidence that, at the date of composition of the *Aśokâvadâna*, the cult of Ânanda was an essential feature of Buddhism. Thence he proceeds to discuss the question of Upagupta's appearance in the sixth and last episode of the Deeds of Aśoka, as embodied in the *Aśokâvadâna*, and comes to the conclusion that the *Aśokâvadâna* is a composite work, made up of an original *sutra* describing the exploits of the Buddhist emperor, amalgamated by a scribe of Mathurâ with the story of the first Council and the lives of the Patriarchs. He gives his reasons for holding that this *sutra* or *Aśokasutra* was compiled between 150 and 50 B.C.

The reign of Pushyamitra seems to have marked, for Buddhism, the commencement of an epoch of decentralization. With his rise to power the Magadha era closes; and the propagation of the Law in a north-westerly and south-westerly direction receives a new impulse. For Pushyamitra was a champion of Brâhmanic Hinduism, and persecuted the Buddhists, who were thus forced to leave Pâtaliputra and fled probably towards Nepal and Kashmir, and also to the regions of the valley of the Jumna, over which the more tolerant Agnimitra was then ruling.

The author, in the course of his work, makes a reasoned enquiry into the origin and significance of the Buddhist legend of Pindola, and analyses the tales composing the Cycle of Aśoka, which are one and all derivable from an ancient and primitive legend, first elaborated among the Buddhist communities settled in the proximity of Pâtaliputra. An examination of "Aśoka's Hell" (*L'Enfer d'Açoka*) leads to some very suggestive remarks on the influence upon Buddhism of Iranian ideas, notably in reference to the Buddhist eschatology and the figure of the Saviour Maitreya, who shows a striking affinity to the Iranian Saosyant. The author's well-reasoned theme will form a valuable addition to the literature which has grown up round the figures of "the Perfect one" and the compassionate emperor, who combined in himself the rôles of monk and monarch, and carved on rocks, cave-walls, and sandstone pillars in various parts of India the Buddhist gospel of truth, reverence and charity.

S. M. EDWARDES.

# THE REPRESENTATION OF SURYA IN BRAHMANICAL ART.

BY JITENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

THE worship of the Sun as a very prominent deity was prevalent amongst almost all the ancient nations of the world. Thus, the Egyptians had worshipped the Sun under various names such as, Horus, Re, etc., and the Assyro-Babylonians used to worship a Solar deity, named Marduk, whose fight with Tiamat, a huge monster of forbidding aspect, is narrated in their legends. The ancient Iranians paid their homage to the Sun-god under the name of Mithra, who was regarded as 'the first of the Spiritual Yazatas.' Helios, Apollo, the Sun-god, occupied a very prominent position in the religious pantheon of the ancient Greeks, and in a far distant corner of the world, bleeding human hearts were sacrificed to the Sun-god by the ancient Mexicans, 'in order to maintain him in vigour and enable him to run his course along the sky.' In fact, the religious history of every nation, if properly investigated, would clearly show that the worship of the Sun, in some form or other, formed an all-important part of worship in certain periods of its existence as a nation. The reason is not far to seek ; the Sun as the celestial luminary appealed foremost to the imagination of the people, and its daily appearance in the horizon, its apparently onward march across the firmament and its final disappearance on the western horizon in the evening gave rise to various mythological tales among various nations, to account for these phenomena.

The Indo-Aryans of the Vedic age were no exception to the general order of mankind, and the Sun was held by them in the highest esteem along with other nature gods. Sacrifices were offered to the Sun-god in various aspects, which were given different names such as, Sûrya, Savitṛ, Pushan, Bhaga, Mitra and Viṣṇu, each personifying to a greater or lesser extent the different attributes of the Sun. Thus, Sûrya, "the most concrete of the Solar deities was directly connected with the visible luminous orb",[1] and various qualities and functions, were attributed to him ; Savitṛ, "the stimulator of everything" (*Sarvasya Prasavitâ* in Yâska's *Nirukta*, 10. 31) denoted the abstract qualities of the Sun-god and so on. The most interesting of these different Solar deities is Viṣṇu. Originally a particular aspect of the Sun, chiefly extolled in connection with the march across the sky in three great strides, he came to occupy a very important position in the classical period and was regarded as one of the most important divinities of the Brâhmanical Triad. Mitra, whose connection with Sûrya is a little obscure in the passages of the *Rigveda*, where he is mainly celebrated along with Varuṇa, is an Indo-Iranian God,[2] the later Iranian aspect of whom influenced to a great extent the subsequent phase of Sun-worship in India. Bhaga, Pushan and Aryaman were three other aspects of Sun and they are also celebrated in Vedic hymns. This list of the Solar gods was later raised to twelve, usually known as Dvâdasâdityas, and the worship of these along with that of Nine planets or Navagrahas came to hold a very important and unique place in the Brâhmanical rituals.

It is generally assumed by scholars that image worship was not existent in India of the Early Vedic period; and though there is a class of scholars who would call this view in question, there are no two opinions on the point that symbols representing particular aspects of divinities were frequently used in the performance of the ancient Vedic rites. Thus, we have references to the fact that the Sun was represented by a wheel in the Vedic ceremonies[3], which properly symbolised the apparent revolving movement of the Sun. Sometimes a round golden plate, or a fire-brand stood for the Sun[4]. The punch-marked coins, the origin of which has been traced by Cunningham prior to 1000 B.C.[5], bear on their face various peculiar figures

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[1] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 30. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *RV.*, 1, 175 (4), 4, 30 (4) ; Weber, *Vajapeya*, 20, 34 ; *ORV.*, 88, note 4.

[4] *SB.*, 7, 4, 1 (10), "in piling the fire altar a disc of gold was placed on it to represent the Sun". Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 155.

[5] Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. [illegible]. *Cf.* *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, ch. III, for Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's views.

which can certainly be taken to symbolise the great celestial luminary. A spoked wheel with other variants of the same figure, assumed by some to stand for the Buddhist Dharamchakra, is very regularly found on these coins[6]. This spoked wheel with its variants occurs also in the indigenous coins of Taxila (*CAI.*, pl. III, 13), in those of the Odumbaras (*CAI.*, pl. IV, 14, 15) and in many other coins. The representation of the Sun as "a rayed disc" occurs also in the early punch-marked coins and in the coins of the local rulers of Northern India[7]. In some cases, Cunningham takes these spoked wheel symbols for Dharmachakra; but they can equally well be assumed to symbolise the Sun himself. Dr. Spooner, who was at first inclined to find in them Buddhist characteristics, subsequently abandoned his views about these marks and held the opinion that they were all solar symbols, though he would take them to be Zoroastrian in character[8]. Again, in certain places the "rayed disc of the Sun is placed on an altar and surrounded by a railing, thus clearly indicating that the figures enclosed within the railing were really objects of worship inside a shrine[9]. Cunningham always describes this figure as "rayed circle of Sun on Buddhist basement railing"; but there seems to be no good ground, as far as we can see, for describing this basement railing as Buddhist, and it may equally well be taken to be Brâhmanical in character. M. Foucher discerns in the infantile simplicity of these emblems the style of the most ancient manifestations of the religious art of the Buddhists.[10]

But our difficulty is—are all the representations of this wheel and the lotus ascribable only to Buddhism? Originally they must have been emblems designating the Sun, but later they were utilised by the Buddhists for their own purposes. On certain coins of the very earliest period, small ingots of silver and copper of a definite weight, are affixed a few marks, which look like very crude representations of a lotus. On other ancient coins, too, certain symbols are to be found, which are nothing but attempts to figure the lotus-flower intimately connected with the Sun from the very earliest times[11]. Thus the lotus flower is mentioned in the most ancient literature of the Indo-Aryans, and it played a conspicuous part in the mythology of Brâhmanism; its association with the Sun was due to the fact that the opening and closing of the flower timed with the rising and the setting of the Sun[12]. This observation as regards the connection of the lotus flower with the Sun is fully borne out by the evidence of the *Purâṇas*, which enjoin the execution in sculpture of a twelve petalled lotus, on different petals of which figures of the different aspects of the Sun-god are to be placed with the god Bhâṣkara on the central pericarp (*karṇikâ*).[13] The lotus flower, as symbolising the Sun and representing other ideas or principles[14] connected with the Sun, came to hold such a unique position in Indian Art of all ages and all religions,

6 V. A. Smith, *CCIM.*, pp. 136-7, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. As regards the Taurine symbol, might it not symbolise in the earliest times the sun and the moon represented together, one by the disc, and the other by the crescent attached to it?

7 Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (*CAI*), pl. III, 14; IV, 13; V. 6, 9, etc.

8 Cf. *ASIAR.*, 1905-06, pp. 150-55; and *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 412.

9 Cunningham, *CAI.*, pl. VII, 6, 9, etc.

10 M. Foucher, "*Beginnings of Buddhist Art.*" p. 14.

11 V. A. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 136, Nos. 1, 15, etc., Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 56, 69, etc. *Cf.* M. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pl. I, figs. 1-4, 8, petalled lotus, the most characteristic form, to be found on the coins of Eran.

12 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 8, pp. 142-5.

13 Hemâdri in his *Vratakhaṇḍa*, pp. 528, 535 and 539, quotes from *Bhâgavata P.*, *Skanda P.*, and *Matsya P.*, the respective passages dealing with Divâkara Vrataṁ, Âsâditya Vratam and Sûryanakta Vrataṁ See also Hemâdri, *Vrata Khaṇḍa*, p. 553, about Sûrya Vrata from Saura Dharma: "*Upalipya sucau dese Sûryyaṁ tatra samarccayet. Saṁlikhet tatra padmantu dvâdaśâram sakarnikam.*" And red flowers (*raktapuspa*) were specially offered to Sûrya in his worship.

14 "Primarily, the lotus flower appears to have symbolised for the Aryans from very remote times the idea of superhuman or divine birth; and secondarily the creative force and immortality"—*ERE.*, pp. 142-5.

that in the portion of the *Viṣṇudharmôttara* dealing with iconographic matters, we find full and detailed instructions for the figuring of a lotus flower.[15]

Thus, we see that in ancient Indian art the Sun-god was represented by various symbols, such as spoked wheel, rayed disc, lotus-flower in various forms and the like. When he came to be anthropomorphically represented, these wheel and lotus flower symbols were not totally discontinued, and we know that the wheel was placed in one of the hands of Viṣṇu, one of the Âdityas, and lotus flowers were placed in both the hands of the image of Sûrya himself. Moreover, the wheel and the lotus flower, as so many solar emblems, figured independently in many coins, seals, clay tablets and copper plate inscriptions of the Gupta period and afterwards.[16]

No icon of the Sun-god is to be found in ancient Indian art till a comparatively late period. The reason is not far to seek; for none of the extant monuments of India with very few exceptions can be dated prior to the age of Aśoka. Almost all the oldest monuments of the Maurya and Sunga period that are preserved to us are connected with Buddhism, and sometimes figures of Brâhmanical divinities, who are given a subordinate position, are to be found on one or other of these monuments[17]. The Sun-god figures rarely in these monuments, and mention may be made in this connection of the figures of Sûrya in an upright post of the Budh-Gayâ railing, as also in the façade of the Ananta-Gumpha at Udayagiri[18]. The god is seen riding on a four-horsed chariot, with the reins in his hands, attended on either side by a female figure[19] shooting arrows, personifying the dawn driving away darkness before the Sun. Another figure, probably of a divinity, which is taken by some scholars, though on insufficient grounds, to represent the Sun-god, occurs on the right-hand section of the façade of a cave at Bhaja. There, a figure is seen riding on a four-horsed chariot, under whose wheels are visible hideous struggling forms, identified by some as the demons of darkness. But as in this case the god, or whoever he may be, is not seen attended by the two female figures shooting arrows, he cannot be definitely identified as the Sun-god simply by reason of his riding in a four-horsed chariot. Figures or figurines riding on four-horsed chariots, which can have no possible connection with the Solar divinity, can be found in many of the museums of India[20]. But as regards the Budh-Gayâ sculpture there cannot be any doubt that it stands for the Sun-god. Though the representation of this divinity is purely Indian in character, the conception is somewhat analogous to that of the Greek God Helios, who is also seen riding on four-horsed chariots[21]. The Rigvedic description of the Sun-god, which is certainly the back ground of the human representations of this divinity in Indian art, pointedly refers to the fact of his riding a chariot drawn by one (the horse Etasa), 3, 4 or 7 horses, and there cannot be any doubt that this conception of this divinity is a purely Indian one. Again, in the particular form of the anthropomorphic representation of Sûrya in the art of the Gupta period and subsequent ages, we seldom fail to find these seven horses being driven by the charioteer

15 *Viṣṇudharmôttara*, Bk. III, ch. 45, v. 1-8.

16 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 219, 269, etc.

17 Figures of the 33 gods, Kuvera and other guardians of the 4 quarters, Apsarases, Śrî and others in Bharhut and Sanchi.

18 *Cf.* a similar figure on the Lahaul Lota, *Archæological Survey of W. India*, vol. IV, p. 6.

19 Uṣâ and Pratyûsâ, according to iconographic terminology.

20 Various terracotta fragments that were unearthed at Bhiṭâ showed these four-horsed chariots, some with riders. In this connection reference may be made to a terracotta plaque found there, supposed to represent Dushyanta's hunt, as narrated in Kalidasa's '*Abhijñâna Sakuntalam*.' See *ASIAR.*, 1911-12, p. 73, pl. XXIV. Bharhut and Sanchi railings bear on them many representations of the chariot drawn either by 2 or 4 horses.

21 *Cf.* Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. III. p. 97; ' the four horses and the general execution resembles to a great extent the Greek representation of Helios, the Sun-god, but the chariot is Indian.' See also in this connection the reverse device of the dated coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Plato. Whitehead, *Punjab Mus. Cat. of Coins*, vol. I, pl. IX. fig. V.

Aruṇa, carved on the pedestal of the image[22]. But the number of the horses shown in the pedestal of these images is not always seven, and reliefs with four horses, though rare, can also be found in India[23].

The epigraphic records of the Gupta emperors tell us about the many endowments by pious devotees, of temples and images in honour of the Sun-god[24]. Titles like *Paramâdityabhakta,* and names such as *Âdityasena, Âdityavardhana, Âdityavarman, Prabhâkaravardhan,* etc., borne by the kings and chiefs mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions, unmistakably refer to the very wide expansion of the solar cult in northern India. But the images and temples of the Sun then erected have almost all been destroyed, and the ruins of these temples, in some cases at least, can be identified as those of temples of the Sun only through the evidence of the inscriptions which still remain[25].

As regards the images, they are almost invariably lost. One inscribed image, however, was discovered by Mr. J D. M Beglar in 1879-80 and was first brought to notice in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports,* vol. XV, p. 12. The date for the installation of the image is presumed to fall in A.D. 672-73, and though the image itself cannot be traced now, it has been described, "as a man 2ft. 10 in. high, holding a water lily (lotus ?) in each hand, and with a small standing figure, on each side, that on the right being armed with a club . . . . " This short notice of the image of the Sun does not enable us to assert that it was of a type identical with many Sûrya images discovered in Northern India, which have found their way to one or other of the museums of India. The essential features of such a type can be ascertained if we carefully examine some of these images[26]. These are, the seven-horsed chariot of Sûrya with Aruṇa as the driver ; the Sun-god with his legs covered, wearing bodice and jewels, with his two hands carrying two full-blown lotuses, his head adorned with *kiriṭa makuṭa* ; his two male attendants, one on each side, holding pen and ink-pot and sword, two female figures on either side in the *âlîḍha* and *pratyâlîḍha* poses shooting arrows, and two or three female attendants. The figure of the Sun, and sometimes the figures of both the male attendants, too, have their feet encased in some sort of leggings. Sometimes the legs of these three figures are left uncarved and shown as inserted in the pedestal or what stands for the chariot[27]. Another feature of this Sun-image is the peculiar girdle or waist zone which is depicted by the sculptors on the body of the image. This is referred to in iconographic texts as *avyaṅga* and has been rightly identified by scholars with the Avestan *aiwiyaonghana,* the sacred woollen thread girdle, which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear round the waist[28]. The boots, the close fitting bodice-like garment and this waist zone are the most prominent characteristics of this type of image, and their bearing on the evolution of the type will have to be duly considered.

The iconographic texts, which lay down rules for the making of images, are handed down to us in the pages of several of the *Purâṇas,* viz., *Agni, Matsya, Padma, Viṣṇudharmôttara,* etc. in the *Âgamas,* the *Tantras,* and works of early date like the *Bṛhat-Saṁhita* of Varâhamihira.

22 The seven horses and Aruṇa are frequently absent in the South Indian images of Sûrya.

23 *Cat. of the Museum of Archæology at Sarnath,* by D. R. Sahni, p. 322, M. Ganguly's *Orissa and its remains,* p. 356, Dr. Vogel's *Mathura Museum Catalogue,* pp. 104-05, D 46.

24 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, '*Vaisṇavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious Systems,*' p. 154; Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions,* pp. 68, 79, 126, 161, 208, 214, 288.

25 *ASIAR.,* 1916-17, p. 14, pl. IX B. This marble temple of the Sun, one of the oldest Sûrya temples known to us, is situated at Varman in the Sirohi State, Rajputana. For later Sun temples, which are still extant, we may refer to Sûryanârkkoil in the Tanjore District (Gopinath Rao, vol. I, pt. II, p. 300), Modhera in Gujarat and Konârak in Orissa.

26 *Cf.* Dr. Bloch's *Supplementary Cat. of the Archæological Exhibits in the Indian Museum,* No. 3927, 5820, etc. *Cf.* also the accompanying Plate II.

27 *Cf. ibid.,* No. 3925, and Dr. Bloch's remarks in the footnote on page 79. See also the images of Sûrya at Ellora, Gopinath Rao vol. I, part II, p. 313, and pl. LXXXVIII fig. 2.

28 *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* 1918, p. 287.

Works on art, which were compiled at a later date, also contain matters chiefly relating to these subjects, and the names of *Śilaparatna, Śri Viśvakarmâvatâra-Śâstra* and *Rûpamaṇḍana* may be mentioned in this connection. Texts or portions of texts are, in many cases, the same in two different works, showing that either one borrowed from the other or both drew from a common source. Thus those describing the image of Sûrya as given in *Viṣṇudharmôttara* are identical with those quoted from *Matsyapurâṇa* in Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*[29]. On the other hand, different manuscripts or editions of the same work are found to contain varying texts, though there is no great discrepancy in the delineation of the essential features of the images[30]. Then again, the texts in many cases are so very corrupt and there are so many copyist's mistakes on account of unintelligent copying, that we must be very cautious in drawing any far-reaching conclusions from a mere consideration of these texts, without reference to corresponding icons to bear out their evidence. Fortunately for us, the extant sculptures representing the Sun follow to a great extent one or other of these texts laid down in various works.

Without going into details, we may observe that the most prominent peculiarities of the image, as referred to above, find their place in these descriptions. Thus to quote Varâhamihira, a representative writer of the sixth century A.D. :—

"*Nâsâ lalâṭa jaṃghorûgaṇḍavakṣâṃsi Connatâni Rava*ḥ. *Karyâdudîcyaveṣaṃ gûḍaṃ pâdâduro yâvat. Vibhrâṇas = svakaratrûhe pâṇibhyâm paṃkaje mukuṭadhârî. Kuṇḍala-bhûsita-vadanaḥ pralambahârî viyad'ga (viyanga) vritaḥ*."[31]. The *Matsya Purâṇa* (Bangavasi Ed., p. 903, ch. 261, v. 3-4) lays down that the Sun-god is to be shown in certain sculptures as having his body covered by a kind of garment and feet covered by effulgence, and possessing other peculiarities. The *Śri Viśvakarmâvatâra-Śâstra* describes the image of Sûrya in these terms :

*Ekacakra rathodvya=stârkhânuja susârathih. Turagaih saptabhiryuktaḥ û* (?) *rddhastatra sthitoravih.* . . . . *Vrihatca* (?) *kṣâ surakiâśca salâvanyo kumudyathâ. Śahasrâṃśurmahâtejomaṇikuṇḍalmaṇḍitaḥ*. Kuryuḥ . . . . Kavacacchanna vigrahaḥ. Sanâlapadmâràjive (?) vibhrat skaṁdhe kare kramât "[32]—(ch. 28, v. 51-53, etc.).

To translate it rather freely : "The Sun-god should be placed on a divine one-wheeled chariot with seven horses driven by the charioteer, who is no other than (Aruṇa) the younger brother of Târkshya. He should be wide-chested, red-coloured, and beautiful like a water-lily. A thousand brilliant rays should emanate from him, and he should be adorned with jewelled ear-rings. The body of the image should be covered by a coat of mail. He should hold two beautiful lotuses by their stalks and the lotus blossoms should be shown parallel to the shoulders ".

Though no mention is here made of the Avestan waist girdle—the *avyaṅga*, and of the northern style of dress, (*udîcyavesa*) which are, as we have seen, mentioned in an earlier work, *viz.*, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitâ*, still we do not fail to find a reference to the fact of the Sun's body being covered, evidently alluded to by Varâhamihira in the term, '*gûḍaṁ pâdâduroyâvat.*' The *Matsya Purâṇa* refers to the same peculiarity in these words : '*Colakacchannavapuṣaṁ Kvacicitreṣu darśayet : Vastrayugma samopetaṁ caraṇau tejasâvritau*'. The reader will specially note the expression '*kvaciccitreṣu darśayet,*' and that 'it should be shown in certain sculptures ' (*citra* here undoubtedly meaning a sculpture fully in the round and not a picture as some would suppose). This observation of the Purânakâr should be clearly borne

29 See *Viṣṇudharmôttara*, bk. III, ch. 68, verses 2—11 and Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, part II, App. C., pp. 87-8.

30 The passages purported to be quoted by late Mr. Gopinath Rao from *Matsya Purâṇa* to describe Sûrya is quite different from the texts describing the same in *Matsya Purâṇa*, edited by the Vangabâsi Press.

31 Varâhamihira, [illegible], ch. 58, v. 17-8

32 I am quoting [illegible] the Iconographic text which was kindly lent to me by Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

in mind, when we consider that these peculiarities of the image of the Sun, which were evidently alien in character, were not adopted subsequently by a certain class of sculptors, and images of the Sun-god devoid of these characteristic features were also known and described by the authors of the *Śilapaśāstras*.

It has been fully pointed out by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[33] that a particular form of sun worship (Mihira or Mithra worship) was introduced into India from outside in the early centuries of the Christian era. The legend of Sâmba in the *Bhavişya Purâṇa,* Varâhamihira's testimony that an idol of the Sun is to be consecrated by a Maga Brâhman[34], the correct identification of these Magas with the Persian Magi, and the *avyaṅga* worn by the figure of Sûrya as referred to above,—all these facts undoubtedly prove that this kind of worship was not identical with the form of Sun-worship prevalent in India from time immemorial; and it was Iranian in character[35]. It has also been tacitly concluded by scholars that the peculiar type of the Sûrya image, which was worshipped all over Northern India during the Gupta period and subsequently, was also Iranian in character. But it should be pointed out that though this characteristic form of Sun-worship was borrowed from the Persian Mithra-worship, yet the very image of the Sun-god was not Persian, and very few such elements can be traced in its making. If the Sûrya image itself is thought to be derived from the Iranian Mithra, then we shall be justified in asking for an Iranian proto-type of this image. But we know that the Iranians themselves were not in the habit of worshipping images and our search for an image of Mithra, would be in vain, *i.e.*, before Mithraism itself was to a great extent Hellenized. Mithra in ancient Persian monuments was represented by a symbol, as Sûrya used to be in the early Vedic times. Thus, for example, in one of the friezes on one of the four *dakhmas* (sepulchre) of Darius, near the site of ancient Istakhr near Naqsh-i-Rustam, " between the king and fire-altar appears Ahura Mazda hovering above, and a ball which is certainly meant to represent the Sun or Mithra"[36]. According to the writer of the article 'Mithraism' in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 8, p. 753), 'the busts of Sun and Moon and the circle of the Zodiac are standing features in the Mithraic monuments.' But we shall not be justified in saying that these busts of the Sun were the prototypes of the cult-picture of the later form of Sun-worship in India. The same writer makes the following observation about the expansion of Mithraism in Asia Minor. "The near eastern dynasts which sprang from the wreck of Alexander's Empire . . . . were fervent worshippers of Mithra, the spiritual Yazata . . . . It was doubtless at the courts of these mushroom monarchs that the Hellenization of Mithraism, which was the indispensable condition of its further diffusion, was brought about"[37].

The fully anthropomorphic representation of Mithra in ancient art was due to this Hellenisation of Mithraism, and the type of Apollo-Helios, the Greek solar divinities, served as the original of this Mithra, as the Greeks saw in him a divinity very nearly resembling their own solar deities. That the Hellenes of Asia Minor identified this form of Mithra with their own solar and planetary gods is shown by a monument set up by Antiochus I of Commagene (69—38 B.C.), *viz.* "the enormous cairn on the tumulus of Nimrud Dagh" on which are five statues, one of which has the inscription, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes.[38] On another relief Antiochus is represented as grasing the right hand of Mithra, " who is represented in Persian dress with the radiate nimbus". Now, we find the representation of this Sun-god Mithra (Mihira) in the coins of Kanişka for the first time, and there he is shown as wearing a sort of boot, with his extended right hand holding something, his left hand clasping a sword hanging down from his

33 *Vaisnavism, Saivism and other Minor Religious Systems,* pp. 153-5.

34 *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch. 60, v. 19.

35 Mr. S. K. Hodivala in his "*Parsis of Ancient India*," has collected all the evidence as regards the identification of the Magas with the Persian Magi, see ch. 10.

36 Spiegel, *Iranian Art.* pp. 17-18.

37 *ERE.*, vol. 8, p. 754.

38 *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 754.

waist with his head encircled by a radiate nimbus and body heavily draped[39]. On the reverse of one of the coins of the same king[40] we see a figure exactly similar to the one described above, but the inscription in Greek is HΛΙΟC (Helios). If we compare these two figures with the one of Apollo in one of the coins of Apollodotos[41], we shall see that the latter differs from the former in these respects only; *viz.*, the attributes in the hand are different, the nimbus seems to be absent and the drapery of the upper part of the body is different. But we should make an allowance for the age that intervened between these two types, and the Kushan drapery of the former and the different attributes might be the additions of a later age.

Thus we may conclude that this Kushan "Mihira" most probably had for its prototype the Greek Apollo, as figured on the coins of the Hellenistic kings of India. We may compare with this the representation of Mithra in the Sassanian Art of the subsequent period. We certainly know at least two such figures carved on the reliefs at Taq-i-Bustân, which have been almost unanimously identified by scholars as standing for Mitra (Mithra).[42] One of the figures has been thus described: "The body is clothed in a tunic-like robe, belted at the waist and richly set off at the back by an embroidered border with tassels. His head is encircled by a halo of rays and his feet resting upon a heavily carved sun-flower, while he raises before him in both hands a long fluted staff. He has a foot-gear which appears to include spurs . . . . The sun-flower beneath the feet of the image, an early symbol of Sun-worship, is a triple flower, and the stem from which it rises is clearly marked."[43] This relief on which the figure is engraved, cannot be dated earlier than the latter part of the third century A.D., and we see here what features the type of Mithra came to possess subsequently in Iran. On the other hand, the Græco-Roman artists of Eastern Europe and Western Asia laid much importance on the legend about Mithra's having slain the Bull, and the Græco-Roman monuments came to bear usually the representation of Mithra in the act of slaying the Bull[44]. However, what is to be particularly borne in mind in this connection is this, that Mithra, who was originally represented in early Iranian Art by a symbol as in early Indian Art, came to be endowed with a human form after the cult of the Iranian Mithraism came in contact with the Hellenes of Asia Minor.

Now, should we seek to find in this Kushan Mithra, or as a matter of fact in the Hellenistic Apollo, the actual prototype of the booted Sun image of the early mediæval period in India? There is certainly much truth in the observation of certain scholars that the expansion of image worship in India was largely due to the close contact of her sons with the idolatrous Hellenistic invaders of India; and this expansion was also in no uncertain measure brought about by the activities and the exertions of the Scythic barbarians who came in the wake of these Hellenes and were largely influenced by them[45]. Certain peculiarities, *e.g.*,

39 Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, vol. I, pl. XVII, p. 63.

40 *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, No. 53. 41 *Ibid.*, pl. V, No. 322.

42 Spiegel, *Iranian Art*, pp. 41-2; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 217 and plate.

43 *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 217-18. Spiegel in his *Iranian Art* remarks about the other figure: "In the vicinity of the above relief (the one described in the body of the paper) is a panel containing three figures, the middle one is a king wearing a coat of mail, the left a female figure pours water from a vessel in her hand. The male figure on the right wears a diadem, a long beard, a mantle fastened over the breast hangs over its shoulders, it offers to the king the coronal circle. I do not doubt that the female figure on the left represent Anahita and the figure on the right Mithra." (P. 43.)

44 *Mythology of all Races*, vol. VI, 287-8, pl. XXXIII, pp. 1 and 2.

45 M. Alfred Foucher in his *Beginnings of Buddhist Art* would date the introduction of the practice of image worship in India after she came in contact with the Greeks. Mr. R. P. Chanda in his *Eastern School of Indian Sculpture* seemed entirely to support M. Foucher's view; but lately he has modified his opinion and is now inclined to assert that though images were made and worshipped in certain places in ancient India, the impetus to the worship of images came to be widely felt in India of the Saka-Kushan period. See his *Murti O Mandir*, a vernacular address read by him in the Radhanogore Sâhitya Sammilan, 19th of April, 1924.

the boots worn by the Indian Sûrya and the close-fitting drapery enjoined by the iconographic texts to be shown round the image, and in fact actually met with in most of these sculptures, would certainly justify an answer to the question in the affirmative. But it should also be remarked at the same time that the type which was thus evolved was the outcome of the genius of the Indian artists, and these few alien elements were so entirely subjugated in the later specimens that even the alien character of these features was completely lost sight of, and their presence came to be accounted for with the help of ingenious stories invented by the Indian myth-makers. The Indian artists endowed the image of Sûrya with all sorts of ornaments pre-eminently Indian; *e.g.*, *kirîṭa, keyûra, hâra, valaya, udarabandha, etc.* They placed two fully bloomed lotus flowers, Indian solar emblems, in his hands, and their conception of Sûrya as riding on a seven-horsed chariot attended by Ûshâ, Pratyûshâ, and several of the other accessory deities, was also indigenous in character. Here is another case in point where the Indian genius is responsible for wholly remodelling, and giving a new and original character to, a type that was primarily non-Indian in nature to a certain extent[46]. A very careful consideration of a host of these Sun images found all over Northern India would most probably enable us to lay down the general rule that those images in which the alien elements, *e.g.*, the boots and the close fitting drapery, are most evident, are as a class earlier in point of date than those in which these features are least noticeable. The Sun-images of the extreme South, on the other hand, do not show the least trace of these characteristics, which were to a great extent overcome prior to their first introduction there. The iconographic texts also seem to support our conclusion, and these characteristics, which are more frequently to be noticed in the texts of the earlier period came to be lost sight of or almost very very slightly noticed in those of the later period.

The legends that are current about the introduction of this form of Sun-worship, with this type of the anthropomorphic figure of the Sun-god as the cult-picture, have been briefly referred to above. But certain details are worth considering in order to account satisfactorily for the peculiarities of this type. The iconographic texts, also mentioned above, in brief, allude to these peculiarities in their own fashion. The peculiar kind of foot-gear, which is to be found worn by Sûrya, was not known to the inhabitants of India proper and so they enjoined that the images should be dressed like a Northerner (*Kûryâdudîcyaveṣam*). Now, what is meant by this injunction? If we look at the effigies of Kaniska on the obverse of his coins, or at the headless statue of the same king[47] now kept in the Mathura Museum, we at once understand the meaning of the term *udîcyaveṣa*. Kaniska and the members of his race were to all intents and purposes looked upon by the dwellers of the Indian plain as people hailing from the north and again consistently do we light upon certain elements of the dress of Kaniska himself, *e.g.*, the peculiar boots, the heavy drapery (though Indianised afterwards to a great extent), the sword hanging down from the belt in a peculiar fashion, in the person of Sûrya. Sometimes even the two male attendants on the side of the central figure, *viz.*, Daṇḍi and Pingala, are quite curiously enough, dressed in exactly the same way as Sûrya himself. We have seen that Mihira (Miiro) of Kaniṣka's coins, and ultimately Apollo of the coins of the Hellenistic kings of India formed the original prototype of the Sûrya image. The *avyaṅga*, or waist girdle worn by the Persians, is not to be found on the person of Mihira on the Kushan coins, but we must bear in mind that Mihira there is covered from neck downwards with a heavy flowing drapery, which in the Indian sculptures of Sûrya gave place to transparent garments, and the position of the Persian *avyaṅga*, various sorts of Indian ornaments like *hâra, keyûra*, jewelled *kâñcîdâma*, etc., was emphasised.

As regards the peculiar dress of this Sun-god, one other interesting observation can be made here, *viz.*, that we know of at least two other Indian deities who are

[46] *Cf.* the observations of European scholars like M. Foucher and others regarding the evolution of the Buddha type.

[47] *ASIAR.* 1911-12, Plate LII.

ordered to be depicted as dressed in the Northern fashion. Hemâdri in his *Vratakhaṇḍa* (vol. II. pp. 145–146), while describing the images of Citragupta and Dhanada (Kuvera), lays down that both of them are to be shown as dressed like a Northerner, and the latter is also to be endowed with a coat of mail (*kavacî*)[48]. Citragupta, who is to be placed on the right side of Yama, is to hold a pen in his right hand and a leaf in his left.[49] Curiously enough, we see in this Citragupta some interesting resemblances, as far as its iconography is concerned, with the pen and ink-pot—carrying right-hand attendant of Sûrya, who is known in iconographic literature by various names, such as Kuṇḍî, Piñgala, Dhâtâ, etc. This *Udîcyaveśa* or the Northern dress was not fully understood by the image-makers, and these top-boots were especially unintelligible to them. They liked to identify the heavy drapery of the upper part of the body of Sûrya with the *kavaca*, or coat of mail, which they could understand. At least one of the Indo-Aryan divinities, *viz.*, Varuna, is endowed with this coat of mail by the hymnist.[50] The elaborate legend about Sûrya's marrying Saṁgâ, the daughter of Viśvakarma, her flight from him for his unbearable effulgence, and Viśvakarma's attempt at reducing this unendurable *tejas* of Sûrya, was composed to explain the peculiar foot-gear of the Sun-god. It is there narrated that Viśvakarma put the Sun on his lathe (*Śâna-Yantra*) and dimmed his brightness by peeling much of it from the upper part of his body : but he left his legs untouched. So some texts[51] say that his legs were covered by his *tejas* or brightness, and the authors of these iconographic texts strictly enjoin that the legs of the Sun-god are on no account to be shown bare by the sculptor. Any sculptor violating this strong injunction will do so at the risk of becoming a leper for seven consecutive births. This story as well as those iconographic texts, which notice this peculiar feature of this type of Sûrya image, show clearly, in this case at least, that the types of the icons were evolved at first, and that then rules were laid down in correspondence with the type already arrived at, for the future construction of such images. We have remarked how gradually this alien characteristic of the image of the Sun was lost sight of, and the South Indian sculptor had no fear of being attacked with leprosy when he carved the image of the Sun with his legs bare, long after the booted Sûrya was sculptured for the first time by his brother artists in Northern India.

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48 For Sculptures of Kuvera with his feet shod and his body well-covered with a tunic, accompanied by his consort Hâritî, see M. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*. p. 145, pl. XVIII, 1 and 2.

49 *Pârśve tu dakṣiṇe tasya Citraguptaṁ tu Kârayet. Udîcgaveśam svâkâraṁ dvibhujam saumyadarśanam. Dakṣine lekhaṇî tasya vâme Patraṁ tu kârayet.* Dhanada :—*Kartavyah padmapatrâbho Varadonaravâhanah. Câmikarâbhah Varadah sarvâbharaṇabhûṣitah. Lambodara ścaturvâhu-revâma-piñgala locanaḥ. Udîcyaveṣah kavacîhâra bhârârdito Haraḥ, etc*

50 *Rigveda*, I. 25 13.—*Vibrad-râpim hiranyaṁ varunovastanirnijam.* "Wearing a golden coat of mail, he veils himself in his radiance."

51 *Matsya Purâṇa* (Vangavâsî Edition), p. 903, verse 4; *cf. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, vol. XVI. Pandit B B. Vidyavinod, in his article on 'Sûrya Pade Upânat' (Shoes on the legs of Sûrya), tries to explain away this covering of the legs as the sculptor's attempt at representing the *tejas* of the Sun as enjoined in the *Matsya Purâṇa*. But he seems to have fully missed the point that the texts and the legend itself in fact try to account for this non-Indian peculiarity in their own way. Again, if Sûrya's feet are covered simply by his brightness, then how it is that we find these self-same boots on the legs of his two male attendants, Daṇḍî and Kuṇḍî. One other interesting feature about these images seem to have been noticed by very few scholars, *viz.*, even the legs of the female attendants of Sûrya in many reliefs (*cf.* those exhibited in the Gupta Gallery of the Calcutta Museum) are covered by these identical boots. In this connection, the figure of a soldier (?) on the upright of the railing of Bharhut should be noticed. The dress of this figure is very peculiar, unlike those worn by the figures of an Indian soldier. "On the feet are boots, which reach high up the legs, and are either fastened or finished by a chord with two tassels, like those on the neck of the tunic." The type of the figure seems to be an alien one and we may compare it with the lion riding negroid (?) figure on the East gate-way at Sanchi. The position of the figure from the waist downwards is not shown in the relief. (*Cf.* Cunningham's *Bharhut Stupa*, p. 32, pl. XXXII 1, and Grunwedel's *Buddhist Art*, pp. 33-34, fig 10.

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We know that the iconographic texts usually give two hands to Sûrya, and it is generally implied there that the figure of the Sun-god should be a standing one. Reliefs of Sûrya with two hands and in a standing posture hail from every part of India. But images of the Sun with four hands and in a sitting posture are also found in India, though very rarely. An early image of the Sun that was enshrined in Multan, which according to the legend of Sâmbâ in the *Bhavisya Purâṇa* was the first to welcome this novel form of Sun-worship (Mithra worship) in India, has been described by the early Arab writers who wrote about India. This description, though not very clear, is well worth reproducing in connection with the seated type of the Sûrya image. Abu Ishâk Al Istakhrî, who flourished about the middle of the tenth century A.D. writes, "The idol is human in shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular (squat) posture, on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin-like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. . . . . . The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted."[52] Al Idrîsî's description of the image is similar in character, but he says 'its arms, below the elbow, seem to be four in number.'[53] Other seated images of Sûrya are noticed by Mr. Gopinath Rao.[54] As regards the four-handed images of Sûrya, Mr. Macdonell remarked that no images of Sûrya endowed with four hands are to be found in India. But Prof. Venkateśvara has contradicted Mr. Macdonell and has referred to a few reliefs where the Sun-god seems to be endowed with four hands.[55] But it should be remarked here that of these four-handed images of Sûrya, all seem to be of the seated type, and if a general observation can be made with some approach to accuracy, we should modify Mr. Macdonell's statement and say that standing images of Sûrya with four hands are hardly to be found in India. Another type of the image of the Sun, riding on a single horse, is referred to in the *Agni Purâṇas* and the *Śrî Viśvakarmâvatâra Śâstra*.[56] One such relief in Kandî (Bengal) is mentioned by Mr. Nikhilnath Ray in his *History of Murshidabad*.

Solar character can be traced in the origin of the many important Brâhmanical deities of the Purâṇic period. We have seen that Sûrya enjoyed a very prominent place in the Ṛigvedic period, and Viṣṇu, recognised as one of his aspects, came to be regarded as one of the most prominent divinities subsequently and became the cult head of Vaiṣṇavism. As such, many images of various types were made of him. The story about Samgâ's flight from Sûrya relates how from the leavings or parings of the resplendent body of the Sun, many weapons and attributes were made for other divinities. Thus Sudarśana Cakra, Vajra, Sûla, Śakti were each made out of these cast-off portions of the Sun-god., and they came to be regarded as the weapons particular to Viṣṇu, Indra, Śiva and Skanda respectively. This legend perhaps shows, in no doubt a very peculiar way, the solar basis of these gods. Mr. Krishna Sâstri remarks in his *South Indian Gods and Goddesses* (p. 236): "But within the flaming orb is recognised the god Nârâyaṇa (Viṣṇu) whose body is golden, who assumes the form of Brahmâ in the morning, Maheśvara (Śiva) in the midday and Viṣṇu in the evening . . .

[52] Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I (1867), p. 28.

[53] *Ibid.*, vol. I (1867), p. 82. Idrîsî remarks 'There is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated.'

[54] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, part II, plate LXXXIX (Chitorgadh relief), pl. LXXXVIII, fig. I (Bronze, Madras Museum), fig. 3 (Marble, Rajputana; it is four-handed).

[55] *JRAS.*, 1918, pp. 521-2

[56] *Sri Viśvakarmâvatâra Sâstra*, ch. 28, v. 59. *Athabâśvasamârudhaḥ kârya ekastu Bhâskara. Agni Purâṇa* (Vanga Vasi Edition, ch. 51, v. 3), borrows this passage from the former work and its description of the images of the other Âdityas is also a case of wholesale borrowal from the same.



Fig. 1. Surya with his Attendants

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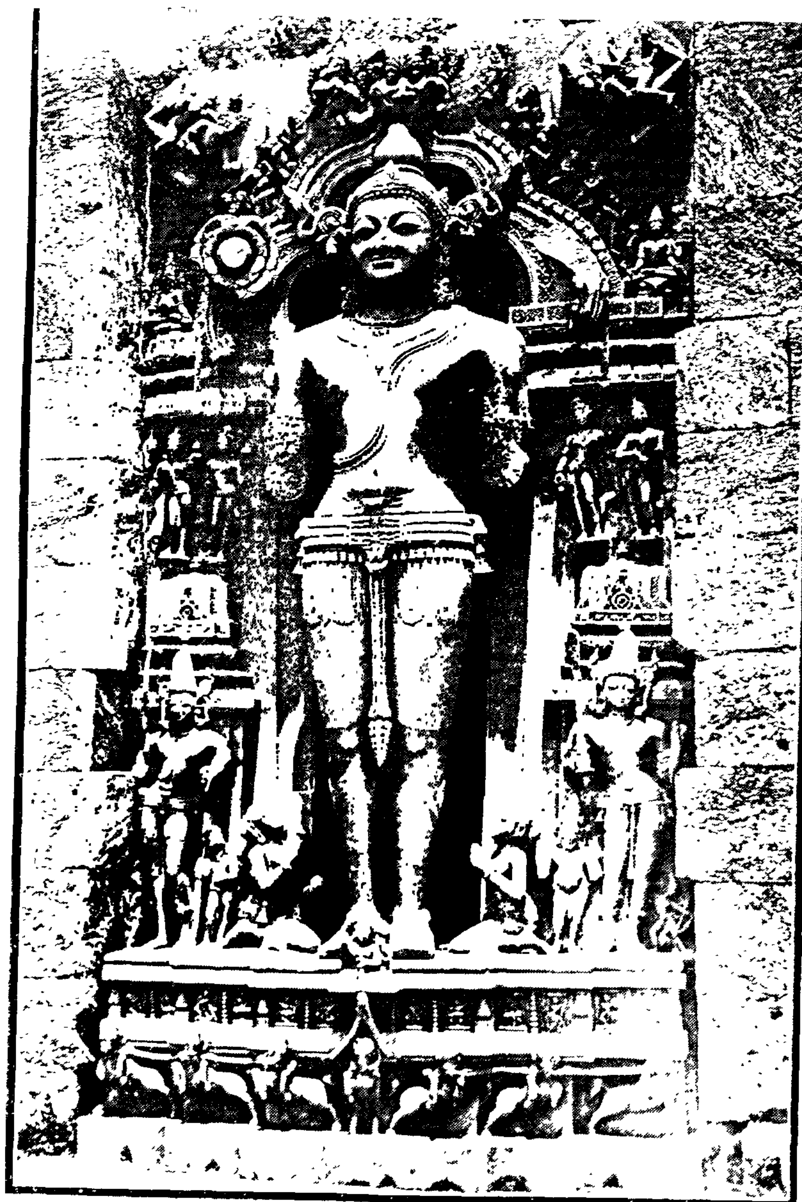


Fig. 2. Surya with his Attendants from Konarak, Orissa

Dr. Stella Kramrisch

. . . . An illustration from Chidambaram (fig. 144) evidently represents Sûrya as composed of Brahmâ, Viṣṇu and Mahesvara (Trimurti).[57]

It may be remarked in fine that the type of the image of the Sun-god, which was introduced into India in the early centuries of the Christian era and largely Indianised by the genius of Indian artists, may have played a prominent part in the development of the types of many other important Brâhmanical divinities.

[The two figures accompanying this article are typically North-Indian in character. The details in both of them are fully prominent. The garment covering the upper part of the body of Sûrya is finely suggested by the artist in Plate I ; whereas, the trunk from the waist upwards is left bare in Plate II. The *avyaṅga* and the boots are clearly marked in both the figures. The relief shown in Plate II (from Konârak, Orissa), a finely carved piece of sculpture, seems to be later in point of date than the figure in Plate I.

I am indebted to Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Lecturer in Fine Arts in the Calcutta University, for these photographs.]

## THE DATE OF THE KAUTILIYA.

By H. C. RAY, M.A.

"THE finding of the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya," says Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar "will remind students of Roman Law of the fortunate accident which made Niebuhr light upon the manuscript of Gaius at Verona, in 1816."[1] The importance of the recovery of this work can scarcely be exaggerated. There is hardly any field in Ancient Indian History on which this *Arthaśâstra* has not thrown welcome light. All students of Indology are therefore highly indebted to Dr. R. Shamaśâstry for not only editing but also translating it into English. To the translation again of this work Dr. Shamaśâstry has added a learned preface putting together all the references to this *Arthaśâstra* and discussing its age and authorship. His contention is that the present work was composed by Kauṭilya, Prime-minister of Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya dynasty in the 4th century B.C. In the introductory note which Dr. Fleet has written and which has been published at the beginning of this translation the same English scholar gives us clearly to understand that he is in substantial agreement with the conclusions of Dr. Shamaśâstry. Soon after their views were published, however, they were hotly assailed by European scholars, such as Hillebrandt, Jolly, Keith and recently Winternitz. Prof. Jacobi was the only exception.[2] The criticisms levelled by these scholars may be reduced principally to 3 views :

1. The work might have originated with Kauṭilya, but was developed and brought to its present condition by his school.

2. The work was itself originated and developed by a school of polity which was associated in later times with his name.

3. The work might itself have been composed by one single author or at least one compiler or editor about the 3rd cent. A.D. and been fathered on the legendary Châṇakya Kauṭilya, who was then looked upon as the type of a cunning and unscrupulous minister.

Let us now take into consideration the first two points which are closely allied. Kauṭilya, it is contended, may have originated the work, but the work itself was systematically developed and brought to its present condition by a school either founded by him or associated with his name. What is the evidence adduced in support of this position ? Whenever the views of previous authorities on Hindu polity are specified and criticised, they have always been

[57] *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 136. Rai Bahadur Hiralal on *Trimurtis in Bundelkhand* has tried to bring out the solar character of these Trimurtis, see Plate II and compare it with the 3-headed figure of Sûrya in Chidambaram in Mr. Krishna Sastri's work. See also *ASIAR.*, 1913-14, pp. 276-280.

[1] *Ancient Indian Polity*, (Madras, 1916), p. 7.

[2] For references to the works of the above scholars, see the bibliography at the end of this chapter. V. Smith in his *Early History of India* and Thomas in the *Cambridge History of India* have virtually agreed with Dr. Shamasâstry and Prof. Jacobi.

followed by a definite statement of Kauṭilya's own views, with a specific mention of Kauṭilya in the third person. This use of the name in the third person has led scholars to infer that the work was composed, if not exactly by Kauṭilya,—by some teachers who flourished in the school connected with his name. I regret I cannot bring myself to accept their line of reasoning. For they have adduced no evidence to demonstrate that the mention of an author's name in winding up the discussion of a subject, already handled by previous *áchâryas*, must necessarily indicate that his name has been specified, not to denote him as the individual author but to denote his school. It is true that the *sûtras* of the *Pûrva* and the *Uttara Mîmâṁsá*, for instance, while introducing such discussions and specifying the names of the various teachers who contributed them, have ended with the specification of the views of Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa, their reputed authors. It is also true that both Jaimini and Bâdaráyana were the reputed founders of these schools, but this latter conclusion does not follow from the mere mention of their names at the end of such discussions introduced into their *sûtras*. We regard them as the originators of these schools, simply because they have been traditionally handed down as the founders of both the schools. But is there any independent evidence to show that there was a school of polity founded by Kautilya or associated with his name? Kauṭilya has been referred to so frequently in later literature that, if he had been really connected with a new school, at least one reference to this fact would have been traced somewhere in that literature What we, however, find is that he is universally considered to be the author of the *Arthaśâstra*, but there is no reliable evidence that he was the founder of any school.[3] Kautilya does not stand alone in this respect. We have a similar instance in Vâtsyâyana the author of the *Kâmasûtra*. In these *sûtras* also discussions are frequently introduced with the mention of the names of different previous authors and end with the view of Vâtsyâyana himself, whose name has always been mentioned in that connection Are we then to suppose that the authors of these *Kâmasûtras* cannot be Vâtsyâyana himself, but that their body of *sûtras* was evolved and completed by some *âchâryas* of a school of erotics founded by him or associated with his name. Here, also, there is absolutely no evidence to show that there was any such school for the science of erotics

Perhaps the most extreme opinion expressed in this connection is that of Prof. Hillebrandt who remarks that the constant use of the phrase *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* tells against the authorship of Kauṭilyaḥ himself, and he therefore ascribes the work to his school. What this view really amounts to is, that the mere use of the name of an individual in the third person is an undoubted indication that the work is not his, but that of his school This, however, ignores the fact that the practice of an author mentioning his name in the third person, when he has to express his own views, has been handed down in India even to modern times, and this is the reason why we find poets-saints like Nânaka Tulsidâs, Kavir, Tukârâm, Chandidâs and others invariably speaking of themselves in the third person.

I have just said that the mere phrase *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, or *neti Kauṭilyaḥ*, occurring in the *Arthaśâstra*, does not necessarily prove that it was not the work of Kautilya, but of his school I am prepared to *go a step farther* I have already remarked that there is no trustworthy evidence to show that there was any school in existence, which was connected with the name of Kautilya. Why, indeed, should there be any such school at all? Kautilya expressly tells us that his work is a mere compendium of what the authors of Hindu polity prior to his time had written on the subject. *He does not claim* much originality[4] at all Nor does he deserve any credit for originality, except in such theoretical discussions as set forth the views of the previous authors In these discussions only Kautilya gives his own individual opinion which is to that extent

[3] In the *Mudrârâkshasa* Kautilya appears with a disciple But Jacobi has pointed out that the author of the Drama lived 1,000 years after the statesman and described the time of his hero on the model of his own. Kâmandaki calls Kautilya his *guru*, but there is nothing to show that Kauṭilya was his *parampara guru*

[4] *Arthaśâstra*, 2nd ed., p. 1

original. But he cannot possibly be credited with having originated an entirely new system of political philosophy. To say, therefore, that he was the founder of any school is to my mind a view which is not only not borne out by facts, but is inherently impossible.

We now turn our attention to the consideration of the third of the views referred to above Before, however, we can satisfactorily deal with this question, it is absolutely necessary to discuss another point, which is really the pivot of that and kindred views. So far as the *Arthaśâstra* goes, in many places we have been told that Kauṭilya was the author of the book. I have already adverted to the discussions in which the names of previous authors precede that of Kauṭilya. In three other places in the work the name of Kauṭilya occurs, namely, at the end of the 1st chapter, at the end of the 10th chapter (IInd Book) and at the end of the last chapter. Thus it has been calculated that the name of Kauṭilya occurs in the book not less than 72 times, and, so far as the internal and external evidence of this work is concerned, Kauṭilya undoubtedly was the author of it ; and further, as the concluding verses of the 10th and the last chapters show, this Kauṭilya must have been the prime-minister of the Mauryan King Chandragupta. Can this Kauṭilya really be the author of the *Arthaśâstra* ? I have already stated that Prof. Jacobi[5] is the only European scholar who answers this question in the affirmative. Prof. Winternitz, however, holds the opposite view. It may not be possible to agree with the former when he says that Kauṭilya was like Bismarck and could not have found time to establish a school, and Prof. Keith seems to be right when he remarks that " Kauṭilya was not Bismarck, and India is not Germany."[6] But it should be borne in mind that in India there was never any antagonism between practical politics and the academic pursuit of knowledge. The latest instance is furnished by the two brothers, Mâdhava and Sâyaṇa, who were administrators in the Vijayanagar Empire, but who nevertheless found time not only to study, but also to write about Vedic lore.[7] This, I think, satisfactorily answers the argument of Prof. Winternitz, when he says that the *Arthaśâstra* was the work, not of a statesman, but of a *paṇḍit* fond of pedantic classification and definition. This last characteristic is certainly prominent in the writings of both Mâdhava and Sâyana. Nevertheless, history tells us that both of them were shrewd administrators and wise statesmen.

Prof. Winternitz, however, adduces many more arguments in support of his position. Thus he tells us that the very name Kautilya gives rise to serious doubts. The fact that he is never called Châṇakya and only once Vishṇugupta, which is a copyist's addition, raises grave suspicions as to the real authorship. The word Kautilya means " crookedness, " " falsehood." Is it likely, he asks, that Chandragupta's minister should have called himself ' Mr. Crooked ' or " crookedness personified." ? He forgets that in India people often bear names of evil import, but they are not ashamed for that reason of mentioning them The *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* has given us the name Śunaḥśepha, which means ' the dog's tail ' : and we know that the author of one of the ancient scripts of India was Kharoshṭha, which signifies ' the ass's lips.' But if we want any instance nearer home, it is furnished by Kautilya's *Arthaśâstra* itself. For does he not tell us that two of the authors of Hindu polity who flourished before him were Vâtavyâdhi, *i.e.*, ' Gout ' or ' Rheumatism '[8] and Pisuna, *i. e.*, ' slanderer ' or ' backbiter.' Why should Kauṭilya therefore be ashamed of calling himself Kautilya in his work, supposing for the moment that it meant ' Crookedness ' ? But is it so as a matter of fact ? If he is to be called " Mr. Crooked," would not the term be rather *Kuṭila* than Kauṭilya ? Is there any instance of an abstract noun like Kautilya, which must always be in the neuter, being used for a male individual by changing the gender of that word ? Evidently Kautilya must be a *taddhita* name, and if we say that his mother was Kutilâ, his name must become Kautileya and not Kautilya. And if we suppose that he was called after his father

5 V. Smith and Thomas seem also to share this view.

6 *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 131.

7 *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, by S Krishnaswami Aiyangar. pp. 309–10.

8 *Arthaśâstra*, pp. 14, 33, etc.

Kuṭila, the name would be Kauṭila. I am afraid we cannot hope to explain the formation of the name, if we persist in connecting Kauṭilya somehow with Kuṭila. The author of the *Śabdakalpadruma* perceived this difficulty and has therefore given a different etymology, *viz.*, *Kuṭaḥ ghaṭaḥ taṁ lânti kuṭalaḥ kuladhânyâḥ teśâmapatyaṁ Kauṭilyaḥ*. This explanation may perhaps look fantastic, but what I contend is that the name must be explained as a *taddhita* form. It is possible that Kuṭala or Kuṭila or Koṭala or Koṭila was the original name from which Kauṭilya was derived by Pâṇini's *sûtra Gargâdibhyo yañ*. In later times, however, the *gotra* name Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya was confounded with the abstract term 'crookedness,' especially as the prime-minister of Chandragupta, being the means of securing the sovereignty of the Mauryan family, must have been a first-rate diplomat and an adept in state-craft. He came thus to be connected somehow with all the dark and devious methods that are associated with diplomacy and duplicity. Recently Mahâmahopâdhyâya Ganapati Śâstri has pointed out that the word Kuṭala is mentioned by Keśavasvâmin in his *Nânâarthârṇavasaṁkṣepa*, as meaning both *Gotrariṣi* and an ornament.[9]

It is thus difficult to see what objection there can be to our considering Kauṭilya, the prime-minister of Chandragupta, as the author of the *Arthaśâstra* The only way to cast doubt on this conclusion is to show that there are traits of style and some words or names in the body of the book, which are of a much later period. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,[10] for instance, has taken his stand upon this type of internal evidence and has brought the composition down to a much later period. We will therefore direct our attention to these arguments. The strongest internal evidence on which these scholars have relied is the close affinity which tho Kauṭilîya bears to the *sûtra* works of a later period and to the *Kâmasûtra* of Vâtsyâyana. The method of stating the views of opponents in a discussion, together with their names, and setting forth the final decision by their specification of the view and name of the reputed work, is a special characteristic of the *sûtra* works of the later period; and as among these Vâtsyâyana is the earliest, being referred to the fourth century A.D., it is contended that Kauṭilya could not have been far removed in point of time. He and his work are thus brought down to the second or third century A.D. I confess I am not convinced by any arguments which are based on mere considerations of style. To quote an instance, *Mattavilâsa* is evidently a drama of the seventh century, but in style, especially so far as the prologue is concerned, it has a remarkably close resemblance to the introductory portions of the 13 plays which have recently been ascribed to the poet Bhâsa. We know the date of the *Mattavilâsa* positively. It belongs to the seventh century A.D., and as we have got a positive date for this drama, an attempt was made by Dr. Barnett[11] to bring the thirteen plays above-mentioned within this late period. But I do not think this view has commended itself to scholars like Prof. Winternitz, Keith and others. Secondly, it is true that the date of Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra* has been settled pretty accurately. There is no evidence that it was added to or was tampered with by interpolations. This, however, cannot be said in regard to the *Vedântasûtras* of Bâdarâyana or the *Nyâyasûtras* of Gautama. There can be no doubt that both the bodies of the *sûtras*, as known to us at present, cannot be much earlier than the first century A.D. But it cannot be contended that most of the *sûtras* forming each one of these sets were not in existence long before. Take for instance the *Vedânta sûtras*. To an impartial scholar there can be no doubt that they have been referred to in a passage of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, as noticed by Mr. Amalnekar[12] and Max Muller.[13] What is the explanation of this discrepancy? Perhaps the best explanation is that of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has contended with great force that these

[9] Edited by Ganapati Śâstri, Trivandrum series, Trak Śarakaṇḍa; verses 5, 33.

[10] *Presidential Address of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar* First Oriental Conference, pp. 6–7.

[11] *JRAS.*, 1919, p. 233 and 1923, p. 422

[12] C V. Vaidya. *Epic India*, p. 497.

[13] Max Muller, *Indian Philosophy*, p 118

*Vedânta-sûtras*, though they existed long prior to the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, were added to from time to time and acquired their present fixity, when they were first commented upon by a most erudite commentator, perhaps Upavarsha. If such is the case, that particular trait of the *sûtra* style, which refers to the opponents' views along with their names and demolishes them by establishing the doctrine of the author, can very well date back to a time much anterior to the *Bhagavadgîtâ* and even the *Kauṭilîya*. There is, therefore, nothing strange in Kauṭilya imitating that style in his *Arthaśâstra*. Again, it is worthy of note that the *Nyâyasûtras*, as they exist at present, like the *Vedânta-sûtras* in their present form are of the third century A.D. But curiously enough they do not share this trait of style and we may therefore reasonably ask why they should not share it with the *Kâmasûtras* of Vâtsyâyana, although both belonged practically to the same period. The truth appears to be that style is not always a safe argument to go upon. No doubt there are many works of one and the same period which partake of the same characteristic style, but that does not preclude an author from imitating another style,—a style not prevalent in his day. It will thus be seen that the trait of style shown by the *Arthaśâstra* is also shown by the *Vedântasûtras*, the greater part of which are as old as the fourth century B.C., if not older.

We now turn to a consideration of the views of Dr. Kalidas Nag.[14] He scouts the idea that the 'entire *Arthaśâstra* has come out from the head of Kauṭilya, like Minerva from the head of Zeus' and refers the work in its present form to the post-Mauryan period. His main contention is that 'the diplomacy of the *Kauṭilîya* is not that of a centralised empire, but indeed that of a very divided feudalism, in which each chief is in perpetual conflict with his peers for hegemony and in his turn is crushed by a new series of wars. It represents the normal atomist politics of a very decentralised epoch,—quite the reverse of the politics of a great empire. Thus the diplomacy of the *Kauṭilîya* is either anterior or posterior to the Mauryas and does not show any trace of the centralising imperialism of Chandragupta.' In trying to establish his thesis he even goes so far as to deny the existence of the term *Chakravartin* in the treatise. But every student of the *Arthaśâstra* knows that Kauṭilya distinctly refers to this term. Thus Kauṭilya says:

*Deśaḥ pṛthivî: tasyâṁ Himavatsamudrântaramudîchînaṁ yojanasahasraparimâṇamatiryakchakravartikṣetram.*[15]

[*Deśa* (country) means the earth; in it the thousand *yojanas* of the northern portion of the country that stretches between the Himalayas and the oceans form the dominion of *Chakravartin* or Emperor.][16]

It is clear therefore that Kauṭilya expressly refers to Northern India (*udîchî*) as the seat of a big empire (*chakravartikṣetra*), which is inconsistent with the supposition of Mr. Nag that the *Kauṭilîya* reveals the picture of a decentralised feudalism. Clearly Mr. Nag has been misled by those chapters in which Kauṭilya discusses the theories of inter-State relations and war. In explaining these theories Kautilya has to assume the grouping of states; but nowhere does he say that these states were *all small*. No one again will deny the existence of big states like Russia and France in modern Europe, merely from the fact that there is conflict—I might almost say perpetual conflict—amongst the states for hegemony. Yet the theories of inter-state relations of Kauṭilya can be applied substantially to modern Europe, with its great states like Russia and France and tiny states like Belgium and Greece. Kauṭilya truly remarks:—

*tejo hi sandhânakâraṇaṁ: nâtaptaṁ lauhaṁ lohena sandhatta iti.*

(It is power that maintains peace between any two kings: no piece of iron that is not made red hot will combine with another piece of iron.)[17]

*(To be continued.)*

14 *Les Theories Diplomatiques De L'Inde Ancienne et L'Arthasastra*, Paris, 1923. pp 114-121

15 *Arthaśâstra*, 2nd ed., p. 340 16 *Trans.*, 2nd ed., p. 396.

17 *Arthaśâstra* 2nd ed., p 269 *Trans.*, 2nd ed., p. 322.

# A VERSION OF HIR AND RANJHA.

BY ASA SINGH OF MAGHIANA, JHANG DISTRICT, PUNJAB

RECORDED BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Retired)

## Prefatory Note.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

THIS rough Panjâbi ballad is of interest to show how deeply the tale of Hîr and Rânjhâ has eaten into the minds of the people. It is not a high class poem or even a well-told tale, but its main interest is that it was composed by one Âsâ Singh, keeper of a "sweets" shop in the Sadar Bazaar in Jhang, who was a native of Maghiânâ, a village in that district. This we learn from the last stanza.

## Text.

*Alif.*[1]

Âke Rabb nûṅ yâd kariye :
Devî Mâtâ de sâhitâ loṛiye, jî.
Mere andaroṅ uṭhyâ Châr-yâroṅ :—
"Kissa Hîr te Rânjhâ joṛiye, jî.
Wâris Shâh dâ hai bâyân jehṛâ.
Phog-satte 'atar na choṛiye, jî.
Âsâ. Singhanâṅ hâl kuchh gum howe.
Âpo-âp matlab sârâ phoriye, jî."

*Translation.*

Come and celebrate the praises of the Lord,
And ask the help of Mother Devî.
Within me have arisen the Four Friends (saying) :—
' Construct the tale of Hîr and Rânjhâ
As Wâris Shah[2] has told it.
Do not leave out the sprinkling of the scents ;
And if any point is missed by Âsâ Singh[3]
Disclose the meaning of it thyself.'

*Alif* 2.

Awwal dâ e bâyân, yâro.
Rânjhihân bhire zamîndâr lokoṅ.
Manjû Takht-Hazâre dâ Chaudhrî sî ;
Bete ath, jainde wâkif kâr lokoṅ.
Satân nâl oh rakhie anjor botî :
Dhîdo nâl sî usdâ pyâr lokoṅ.
Âsâ Singhâ, jeḍâ Manjû faut hoiâ.
Bhâî nâl Rânjhâ karan khâr lokoṅ

1 The poem is arranged in 34 stanzas numbered by letters of the Araba-Persian Alphabet generally in the order of the letters. Each stanza commences with the letter indicating it.

2 Author of the most celebrated version of the story, translated by G. C. Usborne, and published *ante*, Vol. L, as a Supplement

3 The present author.

*Translation.*

This is the beginning of the tale, my friends !
Rânjhâ came of *zamîndâr* folk (Jaṭs).
Manju was Chaudhrî of Takht Hazâra,
And had eight sons of whom we know.
With seven he was on bad terms,
But Dhîdo he loved greatly.
When Manjû died, O Âsâ Singh
There was disagreement between Rânjhâ[4] and his brethren.

*Be*

Boliyân mârde Rânjhaneṅ nûṅ
Sat bhâî jehṛe usde han, Miân :
Ghar jâwe te bâvîân lânt'ane,
Nâl tuhmatâṅ de qaḍhan jân. Miâṅ :—
" Naḍhî Hîr Syâl dî paran leâwen,
Tadân jânî taiṅ-nuṅ jawân. Miâṅ."
Âsâ Singhkahndâ : gharoṅ vak hoke
Rânjhâ tarak kîtâ pîn khân. Miâṅ.

*Translation.*

With (vile) words to Rânjhâ
His seven brothers abused him.
They turned him out of the house with scorn and curses,
On hearing these words from a traveller :—
" Go and get the troth pledge of Hîr the Syâl.
She is fit lover for a youth like you."
Âsâ Singh says, Rânjhâ left his home.
And gave up eating and drinking.

*Te*

Tarak Hajâre-nûṅ kar Rânjhâ
Jhang chaliâ, Rabb dî âs karke.
Châî vanjlî khûndî te nâl bhûrâ,
Gharoṅ turiâ, Hîr dâ qiyâs karke.
Râtîṅ vich masît vajâl vanjlî.
Mullâṅ kaḍhiâ, 'ishq dî pâs karke.
Kamm Rabb de dekh tûṅ, Âsâ Singhâ :
Baiṭhâ nadî teṅ, chit udâs karke.

*Translation.*

Abandoning Takht Hazâra, Rânjhâ
Went to Jhang, trusting in God.
He took his flute brown with use,
He started from his house dreaming of Hîr.
At night he rested in a mosque and played his flute.
The Mullas turned him away taking the side of love.
Behold God's work, Âsâ Singh.
He came and sat on the river bank, sad at heart.

[4] Rânjhâ is really the tribal name of the hero, but it is always used as his personal name.

*Ṣe*

Ṣâbitî ṣidq de nâl kahndâ :—
" Main-nûṅ jhab de pâr utâr, Mîâṅ."
Ghusse ho muhâne jawâb dittâ :—
" Paisâ leke karâṅge pâr, Mîâṅ."
Rânjhâ kahiâ :—" Faqîr gharîb-hâṅ, Miaṅ,
Hathûṅ saknâ be rozgâr, Mîâṅ."
Âsâ Singhâ, tamâshâ e dekh, tûṅ bî :
Kehṛî karegâ agân kaṛtâr, Mîân.

*Translation.*

With firm trust he says [to the boatman] :—
" Take me to the other side of the stream, Sir."
Angrily the boatman replied :—
" I will take you over on payment, Sir."
Rânjhâ said :—" I am a poor man, Sir ;
Without a livelihood save by my hands, Sir."
Âsâ Singh : behold thou too this wonder :
What commands the Creator will give.

*Jim*

Jadâṅ muhâne jawâb dittâ,
Rânjhâ howe khalâ harian jehâ ;
Pichhoṅ Mullâ kaḍh-dittâ masît vichoṅ ;
Agûṅ haur miliâ be-îmân jehâ.
Rânjhâ " bismillâh " karke leî vanjlî ;
Râg gâwiân rûh-parchhân jehâ.
Âsâ Singh, us muṅhiânî mard rannâṅ
Sohnâ gabrû, parî de shân, jehâ.

*Translation.*

When the ferryman had refused to take him across,
Rânjhâ was left alone and perplexed.
Behind the Mulla had turned him out of the mosque,
And in front of him he met another rascal.
Rânjhâ saying " *bismillah*," took his flute
And sang a soul-entrancing ditty.
Âsâ Singh [says], he enchanted both men and women,
This beautiful youth who was like a fairy.

*Chim*

Châṛneṅ Rânjhe-nûṅ berî uthe ;
Rannâṅ de jhabel dîâṅ uṭhienî ;
Beṛî vich chaṛâe bahâliâne ;
Girdî baiṭh bharîndîâṅ muṭhienî.
Ludhân samajhiâ : " Meriâṅ do rannâṅ
Is Jaṭṭ dî vanjlî kuṭhienî.
Âsâ Singh : Rânjhe teṅ te mast hoiâṅ
Ghar chhoṛ, khâwind koloṅ ruṭhienî.

*Translation*

Two women from the boatmen's hamlet arose
And took him into the boat.
They took him into the boat and made him sit down,
And they sat down and began to pound grain.
Ludhân understood that his two wives
Had been captivated by the Jaṭṭ's flute.
Âsâ Singh [says] :—They were mad for Rânjhâ
Left their house, and quarrelled with their husband.

*Ḥe*

Ḥaqq dî puchhdâ bât Rânjhâ :—
" Berî vich kehrâ palang kasiyâe ? "
" E tâṅ Hîr Saletî dî sej, Miâṅ,
Qisse Bhâgbhârî ḳoloṅ dasiyâe."
Sunke Hîr dâ nâṅte khushî hoiâ :
Suttâ palang teṅ gharân dâ nasiyâe.
Âsâ Singh:—Kahîn Hîr nûṅ jâhe kahiâ ;
" Tera palang kise Jaṭṭ kasiyâe."

*Translation.*

Rânjhâ asks for a true account :—
" Whose bed is that spread out in the boat. ? "
" This is the bedding of Hîr the Syâl girl, Sir,
Whose tale is told with that of Bhâg-bhârî."
Hearing Hîr's name he was delighted
And he who had fled from his home lay down on the bed.
Âsâ Singh [says] :—Some one went and told Hîr :—
" Some Jaṭṭ is stretched upon thy bed."

*Khe*

Khabar je itnî pâî us-nûṅ,
Vich gham de Hîr Syâl hûî,
" Mere sej uthe suttâ kaun âke ? "
Rawâṅ nadî teṅ sâyaṅ de nâl hûî
Pahle mâr muhâne nûṅ chûr kîtâ :
Pher Rânjhe de ân khiyâl hûî.
Singhâ : Hîr dî dil vikâ-chukî,
Jadâṅ nainân dî naiṅân teṅ jhâl hûî.

*Translation.*

When she heard this news
Hîr the Syâl was vexed :
" Who has lain down on my bed ? "
Coming to the river with her companion,
First she began to scold the boatman :
Then she came and looked at Rânjhâ.
[Says Âsâ] Singh :—Hîr's heart was conquered outright
When eye with eye exchanged its glances.

*(To be continued.)*

## BOOK-NOTICE.

GIPSY LANGUAGES. By STEN KONOW. Oslo, (Vol. XI of the Linguistic Survey of India edited by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., D.LITT) 14×10¼, VIII, 213 pp. Calcutta Government Press.

The word " Gipsy " is here used in the sense of " nomad." Its use is not intended to suggest any connection with the Romani Chals of Europe. Throughout the length and breadth of India migratory tribes are to be found, some settling down in towns and villages, others still moving from place to place in pursuit of their ordinary avocations. All or nearly all wandering tribes in India have dialects or *argots* of their own. Some of these forms of speech are closely connected with well-known languages. and have already been described in the course of this Series. Thus six are dealt with in Vol. IV. along with Dravidian languages, and seven in Vol. IX as belonging to the Bhil languages. In the volume before us six dialects and ten *argots* are discussed. The dialects are Sā̃si Beldārī, Bhāmī, Lādī, Odkī and Pendhārī; the *argots* need not be specified. Say is said on p. 5 to be a mere argot, but on p. 41, to be a distinct vernacular. The latter statement is correct. It is a real dialect with its own declensions, conjugations, phonetic law and syntax. and is as independent as any non-nomadic. non-criminal dialect which, spoken by few people. lies open to the influence of more powerful neighbours. Dr. Konow, however, on p. 5 was perhaps thinking of the Criminal Variation which may be described as an *argot* based upon the dialect.

The author's main thesis is one of intense interest. He argues on both ethnological and linguistic grounds that all these nomads had a common Dravidian origin, and that for many centuries they have roamed over India. In fact. he hints that they are indirectly referred to in the *Mahâbhârat*. where Yudhishthira is warned of impending treachery in a jargon understood only by himself and the speaker. We can but wish that the limitations of space had not prevented the production of more evidence and precluded a fuller discussion of the whole problem. We should like to know how these tribes differed from other Dravidians, why they separated from them, whether they were ever a united, though separate, whole. how and why they split into diverse elements, and most important of all, what their connection is with the true Gipsies of Asia Minor and Europe. The arguments pointing to original unity are well put together, and a good case is made out. The author will not himself claim completely to have established his position. but he may perhaps say in the famous words of the student, asked after an examination if he had succeeded in demonstrating Euclid Bk. I Prop. 5, " I should not like to say that I *proved* it, but I think I made it seem very probable."

Though supposed to be Dravidians, these nomads now speak Aryan dialects, generally connected with Rajputani, Gujarati or Marathi. A number of the secret words used in their special *argots* are common to several different tribes, and of these a few are found among European Gipsies. Thus the word *kajja* or *kājā* employed by Sā̃sīs and Nāṭs, (also, it may be remarked by Chūṛās who are not discussed at all in this volume) is like the Romani *gajo* ( ? English *codger*). It does not however mean, as here stated, " man " *pur et simple*. It always mean a man not belonging to the tribe. This is true also of *gajo*. In India there is a further limitation of meaning. The word means a man of ordinary respectable society. Thus Sā̃sī would not call a Chūṛā or Gaggrā " *Kajja*," but a Hindu. Musalman or Englishman would be so called. Other Romani words are jukela. jhukil. chukal chuk or dhokal. dog (Rom. jukel), and rhaklo, boy (Rom. raklo). In addition to these there are of course the numerous Romani words which are common to all Sanskritic languages.

Prof. Konow is much to be congratulated on his contributions to the Linguistic Survey. Of the 16 volumes now before us he has written 5 in all, and Sir George Grierson 11. It is matter of great satisfaction to find distinguished foreign scholars, like him and Prof. Bloch of Paris, devoting themselves to modern Indian vernaculars, thus showing that importance does not depend on a remote past. The views expressed in the present work will command general acceptance, except those (occupying only half a page in all) which relate to the connection of Romani with Indian languages. These should be reconsidered.

The treatment of the similarity between dialects widely separated geographically, a similarity which shows itself not so much in individual words as in methods of word-building, and particularly of secret word-building, is valuable in itself and leads to important results. The picture of this great tribe with the *wanderlust* in its veins. a band of people much larger in time past than today, fascinates the imagination; and the possibility of their being of the same race as the real Gipsies should attract the attention of Orientalists and fill with joy the hearts of the founders and supporters of the Gypsy Lore Society.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

# SARALA AND DEVADÂRU.

BY JYOTISCHANDRA GHATAK, M.A.

FOR a very long time there has been prevalent among both Indian and Western scholars a genuine confusion as to the exact signification of the names of the two trees, 'Sarala' and 'Devadâru'. Some have boldly identified the 'Sarala' with the 'Devadâru'; others have shown diffidence as to the identity, but have not been able to draw a satisfactory line of demarcation between the two; while still others have maintained a sceptical silence. As a matter of fact the actual difference between the two trees is too wide to have given rise to any real difficulty. This will be evident from the following article. The various lexicons, works on Rhetoric, poems, treatises on *Âyurveda*, works on Botany, Pharmacopæa, popular and scientific nomenclature, books on economic and commercial products, all agree in speaking to the same effect, and thus confirm what I have just now said. Even a careful examination of the various passages of *Raghuvaṃsam*, *Kumârasaṃbhavam* and *Meghadûta*, in which the words occur, would show that the poet Kâlidâs was also quite aware of this difference.

Let me, first of all, discuss the theme from the side of Lexicons :—

(1) Amarasiṃha speaks clearly enough. He has not only given the names of the two trees in two different places, but has inserted the names of various other trees between them. He has given seven other names for 'Devadâru', and two other names for 'Sarala.'

*Cf.* (*a*)............*Śakrapâdapaḥ pâribhadrakaḥ*
*Bhadradâru drukilimaṃ pîtadâru ca dâru ca,*
*Pûtikâṣṭhañca sapta syurdevadâruṇi.* (Sl. 54.)
(*b*) *Pîtadruḥ Saralaḥ pûtikâṣṭhaṃ.* (Sl. 60.)

It is apparent from the quotation that *Pûtikaṣṭha* is a common name for both trees. But this is no argument in favour of identifying them. To cite an instance, 'Dvija' means both a 'twice-born caste' and 'tooth', but this does not imply that a twice-born caste is a tooth.

(2) The *Viśva-prakâśa* lexicon points out the actual difference between the two, by placing them side by side, while giving the various meanings of the word *Deva-kâṣṭha*.

*Cf.* *Devakâṣṭhantu* Sarala-devadâru–*mahîruhôḥ*.

(3) The lexicon *Medinî* also very similarly draws a distinction, while giving the various meanings of 'Pûti-kâṣṭha.'

*Cf.* *Pûtikâṣṭhantu* Sarala-devadâru–*mahîruhôḥ*.

(4) Even the lexicographer Keśavasvâmin seems to have recognised the distinction; when giving the various meanings of the word *Dâru*, he writes:

"*Dâru kâṣṭhê klî punar devadâruṇi*"—and again when giving the meanings of *pîtadâru*, he says:

"*Pîtadâru punaḥ klîvam devadâruṇi candanê*. But when giving the meaning of *Sarala*, he identifies the tree with *Pûtikâṣṭhâhvaya-druma*.

From the above it will be evident that of all the names of the Devadâru tree, *viz.* *Dâru*, *Pîta-dâru*, *Amara-pâdapa*, *etc.*, 'Devadâru' was the one most generally known and most commonly used. This is the reason why in explaining the meaning of the other names of the tree, the term 'Devadâru' has always been used. If 'Sarala' meant the same tree as 'Devadâru,' our lexicographer must have chosen that very word (inasmuch as it is the most popular of all its synonyms), instead of such an ambiguous term as *pûtikâṣṭha*, which, according to Amarasiṃha and a few other lexicographers, means both 'Sarala' and 'Devadâru'. (*Vide* above.) Besides, in a very large majority of treatises, 'Pûtikâṣṭhâ' is exclusively used for the 'Sarala' tree alone. The author of the *Śabda-Candrikâ*, for example, gives

'Pûtikâṣṭha' as a name for 'Sarala,' but he does not mention it as a synonym of 'Devadâru.' Moreover, the singular termination in *Pûtikâṣṭhâhvaya-drumê* is significant, and shows that the author must have meant only one, and not two trees by *Pûtikâṣṭhâhvaya.* Even if we take for granted that a singular case-affix has been used to mean both the trees, it stands to reason that the use of the rather ambiguous term *Pûtikâṣṭha* would have been avoided by the lexicographer, in view of the fact that definiteness and clearness are essential to lexicons.

Further, if we go to the etymology of the word *Pûtikâṣṭha,* we find that there is a significant reference to the malodorous principle contained in the wood of the tree. Now, 'turpentine,' which is the oleo-resinous product of 'Sarala,' and is known as *Saraladrava, Śrîvesta, Śrîvâsa, Vṛkṣadhûpa,* etc., is decidedly more pungent and offensive in smell than *Devadâru* oil, or *kelon-kâ-tel* as it is popularly known. All these would go to support the view taken by me, *viz.,* that the lexicographer Keśava-svâmin must have been aware of the difference between the two trees.

(5) The lexicographer Hemacandra explains *Saraladrava* as *Śrîvesta, Pâyasa, Vṛkṣadhûpa.* (*Vide Martyakânda,* 7th Paryyâya). It is a point of much importance that the oleo-resinous exudation from the 'Sarala' tree has so many technical names, while the oleo-resinous exudation from the 'Devadâru' tree has no technical appellation. This also goes far towards pointing out the initial difference between the two trees.

As to works on Rhetoric, Bâgbhaṭa in his work *Kâvyânuśâsana,* ch. 1, very clearly points out the difference.

*Cf. Sarala-devadâru-drâkṣâ-kuṅkuma-camarâjina*..................................... *turangamânâmutpâdaḥ* (p. 4. 1. 25. *Nirṇaya Sâgara* Edition).

Even a work on Biography, *viz., Ballâla Caritam,* a composition of the sixteenth century, draws the distinction.

*Cf. Saralaṃ deva-kâsṭhañca*........(ch. 14, sl. 23).

The works on the *Âyurveda* most pointedly mark the difference between the two trees and dwell at length upon their different medicinal properties. I quote below passages from the most eminent works on the *Âyurveda,* where 'Sarala' and 'Devadâru' (or Dâru) have been mentioned side by side.

I. *Caraka* :—

(1) *Agurukuṣṭha*...........*Sarala—Sallakî— devadârvagnimantha* ..................... (vide *Agurvâdi Taila,* ch. 3. Jvara-cikitsita, sec. 176).

(2) *Devadâru—haridre dve Saralâtiviṣê vacâṃ*............(vide *Udara-cikitsâ,* 13 ch. (Bangabasi ed., 18 ch. ) sec. 77 (or 104, Bangabasi ed.)

(3) *Dvê pañcamûlê Saralaṃ Devadâru Su-nâgaram*........(vide *Grahanî cikitsâ*; ch. 15 or (ch. 19, Bangabasi); sec. 32 or (sec. 53, Bangabasi ed.); *Daśamûlâdyaṃ Ghṛtaṃ.*)

(4) *Saralaṃ dâru kesaraṃ*........(ch. 27, *Ûrustambha cikitsâ,* sec. 16 or (29) acc. to Bangabasi ed.)

(5) *Śaṭi-Sarala-dârvelâ—mañjisthâ*..............(vide ch. 28, *Vâtavyâdhi cikitsâ,* sec. 53 or sec. 110, Bangabasi ed.); *Valâ taila.*

(6) .........*Saralaḥ kilimam hiṅgu*..........(vide *Kalpasthânam,* ch. 7, sec. 8 or sl. 12, Bangbasi ed.).

II. *Suśruta* :—

(1) *Sarala—devadâru—gandira—Siṃśapâ*............(vide *Sûtrasthânam,* ch. 45, 109).

(2) *Tathâguruṃ Sarjarasaṃ Saralaṃ devadâru ca* (vide *Cikitsitasthânam,* ch. 15; sec. 15).

(3) ....*Kuṣṭha-dârubhiḥ. Saralâ-guru-râsnâbhiḥ* (vide *Cikitsitasthânam*, ch. 19, sec. 15).

(4) *Madhukaṃ Kṣîrasuklâ ca Saralaṃ devadâru ca*.........(vide *Cikitsitasthânam*, ch. 24, sec. 14).

(5) *Elâ trikaṭukaṃ râsnâ Saralaṃ devadaru ca* (vide *Cikitsitasthânaṃ*, ch. 38, sec. 9).

(6) *Prapâuṇḍarîkaṃ naladaṃ Saralaṃ devadâru ca* (vide *Kalpasthânaṃ*, ch. 7, sec. 6).

III. *Bâgbhaṭa* —

(1) *Śrîveṣṭaka-nakha-spṛkkâ-devadâru-priyaṅgubhiḥ*..........(vide ch. 17, *Śvayathu Cikitsâ*).

(2) *Nirguṇḍyuruskara-Surâhva-Suvarṇa-dugdhâ Srîveṣṭa-guggulu*...............(vide ch. 19, *Kuṣṭha cikitsâ*, Mahâvajrakam.)

(3) *Saralâmaradârubhyâṃ Sâdhitam*..........(vide *Kalpasthânam*, ch. 5).

(4) *Sa-bhârgî-dâru-Sarala-*..........(vide *Uttarasthânam*, ch. 2. *Vâlaroga-cikitsâ*.)

(5) *Rajanî dâru-Sarala-*..........(vide *Uttarasthânam*, ch. 2, *Vâlaroga-cikitsâ*.)

(6) ....*roma-devâhva-Sarsapaṃ. Mayûrapatra-Srîvâsaṃ*......(vide *Uttarasthânam*, ch. 3, *Vâla-graha-cikitsâ*.)

(7) ....*Sarala—pippalî—devadârubhiḥ*..........(vide *Uttarasthâna*, ch. 13, *Timira cikitsâ*).

(8) *Yôjyascâivaṃ bhadra-kâṣṭhât kuṣṭhât Kâṣṭhâcca Sâralât.* (vide *Uttarasthânam*, ch. 18, *Karṇa-rôga cikitsâ*.)

(9) *Aguru-Candana-Kuṅkuma-Śâribâ-Sarala-Sarjarasâ-maradârubhih.* (vide *Uttarasthânam*, ch. 27, *Bhaṅga-rôga-cikitsâ ; Gandha-Tailam*.)

IV. *Cakradatta*—

(1) *Râsnâ Vṛkṣâdanî dâru Saralam Sailavâlukam.* (*Jvarâdhi kâraḥ*, sec. 52.)

(2) *Ela murâ Sarala Śailaja-dâru-Kaunti*........(*Vâtavyâdhyadhikâraḥ* ; sec. 51; *Elâdi-tailam*.)

(3) ....*ghanasâra-kunda-Saralâ*..........*Srîvâsâ-maradâru candan*.........(*Vâtavyâdhyadhikâraḥ* ; sec. 73, *Ekâdaśa-śatikaṃ Mahâprasârani tailam*.)

(4) ....*devadâru*......*Srîvâsañca Saketakam.* (*loc. cit.*, sec. 74.)

(5) *Mâṁsi-dâru-valâ-Calam. Srîvâso*.......(*loc. cit.*, sec. 75).

(6) *Jingî-coraka-devadâru-Sarala-Vyâghrî*.........(*loc. cit.*, sec. 75). (*Mahâsugandhi-tailam*.)

(7) ....*Saralaṃ dâru kesaram*........(*Ursthambhâdhikâraḥ*, sec. 7. *Kuṣṭhâdyaṃ tailam*.)

(8) *Saileya-kuṣṭhâ-guru-dâru*........*Srîveṣṭaka*........(*Śothâdhikâraḥ* ; *Saileyâdyaṃ-tailam*).

(9) *Saralâ-guru-kuṣṭhâni devadâru mahauṣadham.* (*Vṛdhyadhikâraḥ*, sec. 8.)

(10) ......*Kâlâ Saralayâ Saha*....*Punarnavâ Sigru-dâru-daśamûla.* (*Vraṇa-sôthâdhikâraḥ*, sec. 3).

(11) ....*madana-Srîveṣṭaka-Surâhvayaiḥ*....(*loc. cit.*, sec. 15.)

(12) *Saralâ-guru-bhadrâkhyaiḥ*......(*Upadaṁsâdhikâraḥ*, sec. 2).

(13) *Śrîveṣṭakaṃ Sarjarasam guggulu Sura-dâru ca.* (*Mukharôgâdhikâraḥ*, sec. 1).

(14) *Evam Kuryyâd bhadrakâṣṭe kuṣthe kâṣṭhe ca Sâralê.* (*Karṇa-rôgâdhikâraḥ*, sec. 8).

(15) *Śirîṣa-puṣpa-Śrîveṣṭaka*....*Suradâru-padmakeśara.* (*Viṣâdhikâraḥ*, sec. 18.)

V. *Bhâva-prakâśa* :—

(1) *Devadâru Smṛtaṃ dârubhadraṃ dârvindra-dâru ca.*
*Masta-dâru dru-kilimaṃ kilimaṃ Sura bhûruhaḥ.*
*Devadâru laghu snigdham tiktoṣṇaṃ Kaṭupâki Ca.*
*Vivandhâdhmâna-Śôthâma-tandrâ-hikkâ-jvarâsrajit.*
*Pramêha-pînasa-Ślesma-kâsa-kaṇḍu-Samîra-nut.*

(2) "*Saralaḥ pîtavṛkṣaḥ syâttathâ Surabhi-dârukaḥ. Saralô madhurastiktaḥ kaṭupâka-rasô laghuḥ. Snigdhôṣṇaḥ karṇa-kaṇṭhâkṣi-rôga-rakṣôharaḥ smṛtaḥ. Kaphânila-sveda-dâha-kâsa-mûrcchâ-Vraṇâpahaḥ.*

Another reading has :—

*Snigdhôṣṇaḥ karṇa-kaṇṭhâkṣi-kaṇḍu-roga-haraḥ smṛtaḥ. Kaphâma-Svedarug-dâha-Kâmalâkṣi-vraṇâpahaḥ.*

Thus B.P. not only differentiates them but gives a list of diseases which they cure respectively. So also the author of *Madana-pâla-nighaṇṭu* fully differentiates them.

VI. *Madana-pâla-nighaṇṭu* :—

(1) *Devadâruḥ Surâhvaḥ Syâd bhadradâruḥ Suradrumaḥ. Bhadrakâṣṭhaṃ Snêha-vṛkṣaḥ kilimaṃ Śakra-dâru ca. Devadâru kaṭu Snigdham tiktôṣṇaṃ laghu nâśayet. Âdhmâna-jvara-Śôthâma-hikkâ-kaṇḍû-kaphâ-nilân.*

(2) *Saralô bhadradâruṣca nandanaḥ dhûpa (dîpa)-vṛkṣakaḥ. Pîtadâruḥ pîta-vṛkṣô, mahâdîrghaḥ. Kalidrumaḥ. Saralaḥ kaṭukaḥ Pâke rasato madhurô laghuḥ. Uṣṇaḥ Snigdhaḥ-Samîrâkṣi-kaṇṭha-karṇâ-mayâ-pahaḥ* (vide *Abhayâdivargaḥ*).[1]

I give below an almost exhaustive list of the various names of 'Devadârû' and 'Sarala' in two columns, so that they may readily be compared. The names common to both are *italicised.*

*Devadâru* (Synonyms).

1. Amara-dâru (Sura-dâru), etc.
2. Indra-dâru (Śakra-dâru), (Indra-vṛkṣa, Sakra-pâdapa.)
3. Śiva-dâru.
4. Sambhavam.
5. Bhaba-dâru.
6. Surâhvam.
7. Sura-bhûruha.
8. *Snigdha-dâru.*
9. *Bhadra-dâru*-(bhadra kâṣṭha).
10. Bhadravat.
11. Dâru-bhadra.
12. Devadâru (Deva-kâṣṭha).
13. *Pîta-dâru.*
14. Masta-dâru.
15. Dâru (Dârukam).
16. Kalpa-pâdapa.
17. Snêha-vṛkṣa.
18. Bhûta-hâri.
19. Pâribhadraka.
20. *Pûti-kâṣṭha.*
21. Kilima.
22. Dru-kilima.

*Sarala* (Synonyms).

1. Śrîvâsa (its oil also).
2. Śrî-veṣṭa (its oil also).
3. Dhûpa-vṛkṣa (Dhûma-Vṛkṣa).
4. (Dîpa-vṛkṣa).
4. *Pîtadâru* (Pîta-dru) (pîta-vṛkṣa) (pîta).
5. *Bhadra-dâru.*
6. Manôjña.
7. Marica-patraka.
8. *Snigdha-dâru-* (Snigdha) Saṃjñah.
9. Sarala.
10. Nandana.
11. Kalidruma.
12. Mahâ-dîrgha.
13. *Pûti-kâṣṭha.*

[1] Even (VII) *Pâla Kâpya* has got :—देवदारु हरिद्रा° च सह दारुहरिद्रया ।
कुष्ठ° रास्ना° च काला° च सरल° च पुनर्नवा ॥ 2. 72. 33.

Herewith are two tabulated statements of the diseases which they are reputed to cure; the ailments for which both are specifics are *italicised*:—

*Devadâru* (cures )

1. Suppression or retention of urine or fæces. (Ischuria, Intussusception of the bowels, *Constipation*, etc.)
2. Flatulence (Tympanites).
3. *Dropsy*.
4. Dysentery.
5. "Rakta-pitta"=Hœmoptysis, Hœmatemesis, etc.
6. Urinary troubles.
7. Cold in the head (Coryza).
8. *Cough*, (Asthma also).
9. *Itches*.
10. Untimely sleep.
11. Hiccough.
12. Fever.
13. Piles (Haemorrhoids).
14. General biliousness and peevishness.
15. Troubles of the *Nervous system*.
16. Gravel (Calculus).
17. Paretic affections.
18. Fistula.
19. "Vâta-rakta" (Leprosy, etc.)
20. Syphilis.
21. Gonorrhoea.
22. Phthisis pulmonalis.
23. Insanity.
24. *Jaundice*.
25. Worms, etc.
26. Goitre.
27. Rheumatism.
28. Imparts good complexion and grace.

*Sarala* (cures)

1. Ear diseases.
2. Throat troubles.
3. Eye diseases.
4. Jaundice.
5. Lichens, etc.
6. Boils, buboes, etc.
7. *Itches*.
8. Skin diseases of every category.
9. *Dropsy*, Intumescence (tumours, etc.).
10. *Constipation*.
11. Phlegm and disorders of the *nervous system* in general.
12. Undue perspiration.
13. Burning.
14. *Cough*.
15. Swoons, etc., (Syncope, etc.).

That *Devadâru* is a great stomachic and a great digestive drug, will be apparent from its wide use in the preparation of various 'Digestion'-drugs (*cf. Vṛhadagnimukha-curṇa*), etc. For its power to kill worms, *vide* Cakradatta *Kṛmirôgâdhikâra*. As a remedy for 'Insanity,' compare Cakradatta *Unmâdâdhikâra*. As an icteric, its reputation stands very high (*cf. Tryûṣaṇâdimaṇḍûram*; *Maṇḍura-vajra vaṭaka*, etc.). In subduing 'calculus' its power is very great (*cf.* '*Varuṇâdi ghṛta*' etc.). As a remedy for 'Goitre' it occupies a very high position (*cf. Vyosâdyam Tailam*). In paretic affections both *Sarala* and *Devadâru* are used (*cf. Mahâsugandhi Taila* in *Vâtavyâdhi-Cakradatta*). But *Devadâru* has a far greater reputation as an anti-paralytic drug than *Sarala*. The former enters into the preparations of *Nârâyaṇa Taila*, *Mahâmâṣa Taila*, *Kubja-prasâriṇî Taila*, *Aṣṭâdasâ-śatika-prasâriṇî Taila*, etc., all of which are great anti-paralytic remedies. *Devadâru* is so effective a drug for Rheumatism that almost all the reputed preparations for removing the disease contain it (*cf. Râsnâdasa-mûlaka*, *Râsnâ-pañcaka*, *Râsnâ-saptaka*, *Yogarâja-guggulu*, *Ajamôdâdya vataka*, etc.). It is a famous drug for *Phthisis pulmonalis* (*cf. Sitôpalâdileha* ). In the Âyurveda, *Devadâru* enjoys a singular reputation as a curative for

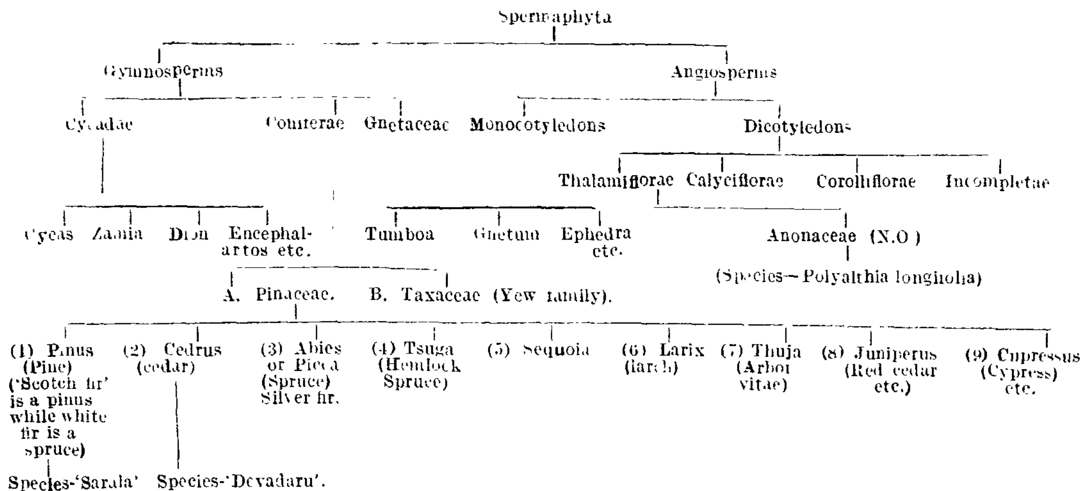
Leprosy and various other diseases resulting from an impure condition of the blood (*cf. Amṛtâdyâm ghṛtam*, etc.). Dr. Gibson also recommends the use of the oil of *Devadâru* in large doses as highly efficacious in Vâtarakta Leprosy, malignant abscesses, etc. Dr. J. Johnston is said to have cured a severe case of "Lepra mercurialis" by treating externally and internally with Deodar oil. (*Vide* Sir G. Watt's *Economic Products of India.*) *Sarala* is described in the *Âyurveda* as a great remedy for boils and buboes. The same view is confirmed by a number of European physicians, who discovered its efficacy clinically. Surgeon D. Picachy of Purnea wrote, "I have used it externally, to ripen boils, abscesses, and buboes with good effect." S. M. Shircore, late Civil Surgeon of Murshidabad, writes, "*Gondh-biroza*" (oil of the *Sarala* tree) certainly promotes suppuration when externally applied and is specially useful in indolent abscesses and buboes." F. Mallone, late Civil Surgeon of Gauhati, writes—"I have found *Gandha-biroza* to be an excellent application for the ulcers known as Frontier Sores in the Punjab." (*Vide* Sir G. Watt's *Economic Products of India.*)

It will, I hope, be quite evident from what I have shown above that the two trees 'Sarala' and 'Devadâru' are not only different specifically, but have widely different medicinal properties.

I shall now discuss the matter from the standpoint of Botany. *All* Western botanists have very pronouncedly distinguished the two trees. Indeed, one (*Devadâru*) is a cedar, while the other (*Sarala*) is a pine. Even so *old-styled* a botanist as Roxburgh, who calls both of them 'Pine', distinguishes them very clearly by giving widely different characteristics to the two trees. He calls 'Devadâru,' *Pinus Devadaru* and 'Sarala,' *Pinus longifolia* (vide *Flora Indica*). The more modern botanists have called 'Devadâru,' *Cedrus Libani Deodar*, and 'Sarala,' *Pinus longifolia*. Indeed the latter is very easily distinguished from the former by its pale green tint, brown corky bark, three-fold leaves, and the absence of any distinct heartwood. The Himalayan Deodar has tufted leaves like the European larch. Its timber is most durable, and from it the highly fragrant resin never disappears, no matter how long it may have been cut.

To make confusion worse confounded, the people in Bengal call a tree by the name of 'Devadâru' which is neither 'Sarala' (*Pinus longifolia*) nor the Cedrus Deodar. This is a tree which is not a member of the coniferae at all, not even a gymnospermous plant. It is an angiospermous plant and belongs to the same family as the custard apple, *i.e.*, *Anonaceae* N. O. Indeed, the cedar and the pine, although very different, belong to the same family of plants, and their points of affinity are not a few. But this so-called 'Devadâru,' *i.e.*, 'the Devadâru of Bengal' differs from both of them very radically. It is curious that the people should have applied such a well-known name to the tree, by ignoring the difference which actually exists between this pseudo-Devadâru and the true Himalayan Deodar. This tree is botanically known as *Polyalthia longifolia*, or *Uvaria longifolia* or *Guatteria longifolia*. Very probably the origination of such a name for the tree can be traced to the fact, (as Sir George King also suggests in *A Guide to the Royal Botanical Gardens*, Calcutta), that this tree is very often planted in Bengal in the neighbourhood of temples or in the avenues leading to temples, and is regarded as a sacred tree. This tree is known in Orissa as 'Asoka,' in the Telugu countries as 'Putra-jîva,' and in Tamil countries also as 'Asoka.' It flowers in February. Its fruits ripen during the rainy season and are very largely devoured by birds. They look purple and are either ovoid or oblong in shape.

To make the general reader fully recognise the actual difference between these three trees, *viz.*, (1) *Pinus longifolia*, (2) *Cedrus Deodar*, and (3) *Polyalthia longifolia*, I shall give below a table showing their mutual relation at a glance :—




I give below, the different characteristics of the three trees :—

The so-called ' Devadâru ' of Bengal.

### I. Polyalthia Longifolia.

*Uvaria longifolia* (*Indian fir or Mast tree*).

*Habitat*—A large erect evergreen glabrous tree, wild in the drier parts of Ceylon and Tanjore, cultivated throughout the hotter parts of India. It is commonly planted in avenues along roadsides in Bengal and S. India.

*Stem*—Has got good bast fibre.

*Branches*—Glabrous.

*Leaves*—Narrowly lanceolate, taper-pointed, undulate. 5 to 8 by 1-2 inches. Base acute ; petiole about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long.

*Flowers*—Numerous, dense ; yellow-green in fascicles, 1-1$\frac{1}{2}$ inch across. *Peduncles* $\frac{1}{2}$ inch or less ; hoary. *Pedicels*, 1-2 inch densely racemose.

*Bracts*—Minute, linear ; pubescent, deciduous, about or above the middle.

*Sepals*—$\frac{1}{6}$ inch long, triangular.

*Petals*—Narrow, linear spreading tapering to a point.

*Carpels*—When ripe $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long ; are numerous, stalked, ovoid, obtuse at both ends.

*Fruit*—Ovoid or oblong, one-seeded and purple. Favourite food of birds. The fruits ripen during the rainy season.

N.O.—Anonaceae (the same family to which custard apple belongs).

(*Vide*—Hooker, vol. I, p. 62 ; Theodore Cooke's *Flora of the Bombay Presidency* ; Prain's *Bengal Plants*, p. 204.)

### II. Pinus Longifolia.

(*True ' Sarala.'*)

*Habitat*—A large gregarious tree of the outer and drier Himalayan slopes, from the Indus to Bhutan, met with as low down as 1500 feet and ascending to 7000 feet. A more or less deciduous tree of the Siwalik range and outer Himalayas and also valleys of the principal Himalayan rivers ; attaining usually 100 to 120 feet height, but is very often stunted and gnarled. Trunk usually naked, rarely with 12 feet girth.

*Stem*—Bark is brown or yellowish-reddish and corky ; furrowed ; no distinct heartwood is noticeable.

*Leaves*—*Three-fold*, filiform, from 12 to 18 inches long ; pendulous, with the margins a little scabrous ; 9 to 12 in slender triquetrons, back obtuse, sheaths persistent.

*Flower*—The female cones are globose or ovoid. The cones are shorter than the leaves; are solitary or clustered, 4 to 7 inches by 3 inches in diameter; have got scales at the base.

*Scales*—The scales are 1½ to 2 inches by ¾ inch are ovuliferous, much larger than the bracts, with thick recurved apices. The scales are persistent. *Ovules* two at the base of the scales, reflexed.

*Male flowers*—Antheral racemes, numerous at the extremities of the branchlets.

*Bracts*—Solitary, one to each raceme. *Filaments*—Scarcely any.

*Anthers*—Clavate, opening on each side and crowned with a large roundish scale.

*Cotyledons*—About 12.

*Oleo-resin*—The oleo-resinous exudation of the tree is 'Turpentine oil.' *Saralaniryyâsa*, *Śrî-Vâsa*, *Śrîveṣṭaka*, *Pâyasa*, *Yavâsa*, *Ghṛtâhvaya*, *Kṣîrâhvaya*, etc., are the Sanskrit names for it. It is popularly known as 'Gandha-biroza' in Upper India.

(*Vide* Roxburgh, Hooker, Watt in his *Economic Products*, Theodore Cook, Sir G. King in his *A Guide to the Royal Botanical Gardens*, Calcutta, W. A. Talbot's *Systematic lists of the Trees and Shrubs*, etc.)

### III. Cedrus Libani Deodar.

*Himalayan Cedar.* (*The true 'Devadâru.'*)

*Habitat*—A very large evergreen tree, (often 250 feet), of the Western Himalayas, extending westwards to the mountains of Afghanistan and eastward to the Dauli river (a tributary of Alakanandâ) in Kumaon. Most common at 6,000 to 8,000 feet altitude, but in more eastern section of its area ascends to 10,000 feet altitude. It prefers a light soil and gneiss granite or even lime-stone sub-soil, but in the Himalayas it seeks the northern and western slopes thus avoiding the rain. It is especially abundant in the forests of the Punjab proper (Chamba, Kullu, Kangra, etc.), of Kashmir and Afghanistan. From Kumaon westwards generally 3,500 to 12,000 feet.

The geographical range of Deodar specially in altitude is very wide. In Brandis' *Forest Flora of North-Western and Central India*, pp. 520-24, three deodar zones have been differentiated. (1) Those in a dry climate in the vicinity of the arid zone of the inner Himalaya having usually the age of trees, 6 feet in girth, above 140 years. (2) Those in the intermediate ranges and valleys having 6 feet girth for an age between 110 and 140. (3) Those in the outer ranges under the full influence of monsoon and having the age of trees 6 feet in girth below 110 years. [*Vide* Sir. G. Watt's *Economic Products of India* and *Commercial Products of India.*]

*Stem*—Light yellowish brown, scented and moderately hard. Sometimes the girth of trunk is 36 feet (usually 30 to 45 feet) and age even 600 years. Bark thick, furrowed vertically and cracked transversely. *The Heartwood* is light yellowish. Medullary rays are very fine, unequal in width. *No vertical resinous duct as in Pinus* but the resin exudes from cells which are not visible to the naked eye. Deodar *has well-marked annual rings, each of which represents one year's growth.*

*Branches*—Its branches are drooping, being more drooping than the Atlas or Lebanon cedars. Tips are drooping.

*Leaves*—Usually glaucous green, acute persistent for 3 to 5 years, in approximated fascicles of about 40; rigid acute; sheaths very short.

*Flower*—The strobilus or cone is erect, oval, 4 to 5 by 3 to 4 inches; top is rounded. *Scales* very numerous; thin, smooth even edged, transversely elliptic. Is destitute of *bracts* projecting beyond the scales of the cone. *Cedrus has the cone of Pinus but the Scales are deciduous.*

*Seeds* :—¼ inch; wing longer, broadly triangular with rounded sides. *Cotyledons* —10; leaving a columnar axis.

*Oleo-resin*—The oleo-resin or gum is called '*kelon-ka-tel*' in the Punjab and U. P. A true oleo-resin which resembles turpentine. No technical Sanskrit name for it.

(*Vide* Roxburgh, Hooker, Watt, King, Royle, etc.).

The various and widely different characteristics of the three trees, as given by me above, will afford a true insight into the actual difference between them.

Turning to the works of the great poet Kâlidâsa, I shall show that our poet was thoroughly aware of the difference between a 'Sarala' and a 'Devadâru tree.' In the first place, it will be seen that wherever Kâlidâsa refers to 'Sarala,' he mentions some sort of friction or rubbing with its trunk, the result being either a conflagration or the diffusing of the smell of its oleo-resin (*cf.* Meghaduta's *Pûrvamegha*, sl. 54; *Kumâra*, I. 9; *cf. Gandha-biroza*, the popular name of it). Even 'Devadâru' is sometimes described as having its trunk rubbed by elephants (*cf. Raghu*, 2. 37; and 4. 76), but in such cases there is no mention of any odoriferous oil or resin exuding and diffusing its scent in the air. In the second place, Devadâru is in many places placed in proximity to some waterfall or hill-rivulet, its base thus affording a good place for rest. The Himalayan hunters repose either under or very near a Devadâru grove, where the breeze is still more refreshing on account of being the carrier of the cool particles of a fall of the Bhâgîrathî. (*Cf. Kumâra*, 1. 15.) Thus we find that Mahâdeva (Śiva) himself chooses a place for his meditation at the foot of a Devadâru tree. (*Cf. Kumâra*, 3. 44.) In the third place, had 'Devadâru' meant to Kâlidâsa the same thing as 'Sarala,' he could have chosen 'Sarala' as a substitute for 'Devadâru'. But on the contrary, we find that the poet is very careful about his vocabulary in this respect. The "Putrîkṛta Devadâru" of Vṛsabhadhvaja, of which we read in *Raghu*, 2. 36, is again mentioned as Devadâru in *Raghu*, 2. 56. Fourthly, the poet compares the long arms of such a mighty individuality as Himâlaya to the tall Devadâru, and not to Sarala. (*Vide Kumâra*, 6. 51.) Now, the usual height for a Sarala tree is from 100 to 120 feet. while the Devadâru tree often attains to a height of from 200 to 250 feet. We all know that Kâlidâsa is specially reputed for his similes or comparisons (*Upımâ Kâlidâsasya*); and here we find how accurately his comparison tallies with actual fact. Fifthly, while describing the grandeur of a Himalayan glen or slope, the very favourite flora of our poet seem to be six, *viz.* (1) the phosphorescent herb which emits light at night; (2) the 'Bhûrja' or (birch) tree; (3) the 'Kîcaka' bamboo; (4) the 'Nameru' (an *Eleocarpus*) tree; (5) the 'Sarala' tree; (*Pinus longifolia*) and (6) the 'Devadâru' tree (*Cedrus deodar*). Of these six, sometimes he mentions all, sometimes five, sometimes even two or one only. In *Kumâra*, canto. I, when the Himâlaya is being described, we find nearly the complete set excepting 'Nameru'. (*Vide slokas* 7-15.) In *Kumâra*, canto. I, *sloka* 55, we find mention of two only of these plants, *viz.*, 'Nameru' and 'Bhûrja,' together. In *Kumâra*, canto 3, slokas 43-44, we find reference to two only, *viz*: (1) 'Nameru' and (2) 'Devadâru.' In the description of the Himalaya in Meghadûta (*Pûrvamegha*) we hear mention of two only, viz:—(1) 'Sarala' and (2) 'Kîcaka bamboo' (*slokas* 54 and 57). The description of the Himalaya during the course of the account of Raghu's conquest, as given in *Raghu*, canto 4, gives us the complete set. (1) Birch, and (2) Kîcaka bamboo are mentioned in sl. 73. Sl. 74 mentions (3) 'Nameru.' Sl. 75 gives us (4) 'Sarala' and (5) the phosphorescent herb which serves as a lamp. Sl. 76 mentions (6) 'Devadâru.' This mention of 'Sarala' and 'Devadâru' almost side by side is both conclusive and convincing. Had 'Sarala' meant to Kâlidâsa the same tree as 'Devadâru', there would have been no necessity for mentioning it again in the very next sloka. Besides, even if we take for granted that the poet meant identical trees by 'Sarala' and 'Devadâru', the rhetorical fault of "*Samâpta-punarâttatâ*" occurs, which is too broad and obvious a blunder to be committed by so great a poet.

In conclusion I wish to say a little about Mallinâtha the great commentator. Many scholars have accused him of not knowing the difference between these two trees. To free the great *savant* from such censure, I shall present to the reader the actual perspective taken by him. Just as Roxburgh and some other botanists include both cedar and pine under the general name 'Pinus', or just as we still now include the pine, the fir, the spruce, the larch, etc., under the generic title 'Pinaceae', so Mallinâtha included both the 'Devadâru proper' and the 'Sarala' under the generic epithet 'Devadâru.' Thus we find in his *Sañjîvanî on Raghu-Vamsaṃ*, canto. 4, sl. 75, "*Saraleṣu devadâruviśeṣeṣu*". This is at once emphatic and convincing. Had he meant by 'Devadâru' the very same tree as 'Sarala', he would never have said this. It is only because he takes 'Devadâru' in a generic sense that he says, "*Saralânâṃ devadârudrumânâm*" in his *Sañjîvanî* on Meghadûta *Pûrvamegha*, sl. 54 (or 55 acc. to some editions). Such a use of the word in a generic sense is warranted by the fact that even nowadays we find 'Sarala' called 'Saral Devadâr' in Gujarat and Mahârâṣṭrâ. Similarly, in the Tamil Districts it is still called 'Saral devdârî,' and in the Telugu Districts it is still known as 'Saral devadâru.' Besides, if we take note of the fact that Mallinâtha came from a country which was very probably a Telugu-speaking one or at least a neighbouring one to that where Telugu was spoken, our perspective becomes clearer. I hope that I have thus established Mallinâtha's position in some measure.

The Himalayan flora much resemble the European. The most prominent groups are, (1) the *Coniferae*—of which again the pine, the cedar, the spruce and the fir, are by far the most abundant; (2) the *Cupuliferae* (oak family)—of which the most prominent members are the oak, the hazel, the beech, the birch and the alder; (3) the *Salicineae* (*Amentaceae*, N.O.), of which the poplar, the willow, the osier, the aspen and the abele stand out; (4) '*the Urticaceœ* —of which the elm and the plane deserve mention; (5) '*the Oleaceae* —of which ash and olive are prominent members; (6) the *Sapindaceae*—of which the maple, the sycamore, the horse-chestnut deserve mention; (7) the *Tiliaceœ*:—of which *Eleocarpus ganitrus* or 'Nameru' is most prominent. It is interesting to compare with this the favourite Himalayan Flora of Kâlidâsa.

In fine, I would draw attention to the fact that 'Sarala', or *Pinus longifolia*, is still now called by that very name and its corruptions in the Punjab and in Kashmere. It is sometimes called 'Sarala,' sometimes 'Sarlâ', and also 'Sallâ.' This fact alone goes a great way towards establishing the difference between the *Pinus longifolia* (Sarala) and the 'Devadâru proper.' Lady E. Smith, also, in her *Simla flowers* shows to us the initial difference of the two trees. J. Forbes Royle, M.D., V. P.R.S., in his "Illustrations of the Botany and other branches of the Natural History of the Himalayan mountain and of the Flora of Kashmere" gives nice illustrations which cannot but impress one who bestows a glance on them. Indeed a picture of the flowers and leaves of 'Sarala' and 'Devadâru' respectively would at once convince even the most sceptical of the great difference existing between the two trees.

## WADDELL ON PHŒNICIAN ORIGINS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 147.)

### 4. Partolon.

Waddell gives much space to the discussion of " Partolon, King of the Scots and traditional first civiliser of Ireland about B.C. 400." The Indian references are now temporarily dropped and the languages compared are Western. The argument begins by " disclosing the Hitto-Phœnician origin of the clan title Uallana, or Vellaun(us), or Wallon of the Briton king Cassi-vellaun of Cad-wallon and of the Uchlani of the Cassi Britons." Two quotations are given :—" ' The Scots arrived in Ireland from Spain. The first that came was Partholomus [Part-olon].'—Nennius [Ninian] : and ' The clan of Geleoin, son of Erc-ol [? Ihr] took possession of the Islands of Orc [Orkney] . . . . that is the son of Partai . . . . went and took possession of the North of the Island of Breatan '—Books of Lecan and Ballymote."

We can now start on the investigation. Gy-âolownie = Gi-oln = Geleoin = , by British phonetics, Wallon, and taken with the title Prât or Prwt, identifies the " Phœnician Barat author of the Newton Stone inscriptions," as " Part-olon king of the Scots, son of Erc-ol Parthai," who came to the Orkneys about B.C. 400. In the inscription he called himself Ikr or Icar. Here we get a clue. Gi-oln = Geleoin = Gleoin of the Irish-Scot histories of Part-olon was king of Scots in Ireland, and in the *Book of Lecan* there is a passage :—" In the same year came [to Erin] . . . . from the land of Traicia [Tarsi ? ] the Geleoin . . . . Icathir-si [Agadir] was their name, that is . . . . son of Part-olain." From this Waddell sees " a memory of King Part-olon's temporary location in Spain, as Agadir is the ancient name of Gades, the modern Cadiz," and of " Tarsus, the ancient Tarz or Tarsi." Then he gives us a philological sequence :—" Newton Stone, Gy-Âolownie, Gi-oln ; Irish-Scot, Geleoin, Gleoin ; Ptolemy, Uallaun(i) ; Cymric, Wallon. But Ptolemy's full name is Katya Uchlani, which represents Cassi-Uallaunus, Cassi-Vellaunus of the Roman days in Britain."

Having got thus far, Waddell says that this last title is proved to be Hittite by some difficult philological remarks, which he caps by an allusion to an inscribed monument ( with figure) from the Roman wall at South Shields to " a Briton lady " of the Cat-uallauna clan, married to " a Syrian Barat from the Phœnician city of Palmyra " in the second century A.D. The Cat-uallauna Clan was found in Selkirk and Ceti-loin in Yarrow in the fifth century A.D.

Gy-aolownie and Gioln " *seem* significantly to survive in Clyan's Dam near the Newton Stone, and in Cluny or Clony or Kluen (Khilaani) Castle near Mt. Bennachie : see also Cluny in France, and finally " the fact is established that Prat-gioln is the source of the later form of Part-olon " and " the Phœnician Barat author of the Newton Stone is revealed as the historical original of the traditional of Part-olon."

Nennius states that Partolomus came from Spain to Ireland, and the *Book of Ballymote* that he arrived at Scene in the Bay of Kenmare in Kerry, whence the Newton Stone shows that he migrated to the North of Scotland for some reason. Geoffrey's *Chronicles* supports all this and records his meeting with Gurgiunt Boabtruc in the Orkneys, by which the North of Scotland is probably meant. Waddell finds the Phœnicians in the Orkneys and Shetlands from a hitherto unread inscription on a pre-Christian Cross at " Lunasting on the mainland of Shetland or Land of the Shets = Khat = Xat = Hitt-ite = Ceti of the early Scot monuments. Waddell gives his reading, which he got " without difficulty in a dialect of the Gothic of the Eddas," and finally we learn that " the Duke of Sutherland is still called locally Diuc Cat or Duke of the Cats, *i.e.*, Catti." Geoffrey describes Part-olon as " of the Bar-clenses," where Bar = Barat, which was written by the Sumerian-Phœnicians simply as " Bara," and *clenses*

is the Latinised form of Gioln = Uchlani. "The *Book of Leinster* (the *Book of Dun*)" calls Part-olon the 'Son of Sera or Sru,' thus "attesting the remarkable authenticity of the tradition of the Irish-Scots" in preserving "the favorite form of the ancestral Barats' name selected by the founder of the First Phœnician Dynasty in Mesopotamia, who regularly called himself the 'Son (or descendant) of Sar.'" The migration of Part-olon from Cilicia to Spain, Ireland and Scotland was "*probably* owing to the massacring invasion and annexation of Cilicia and Asia Minor by the Spartan Greeks in B.C. 399." If so, his Newton Stone can only be dated as *about* B.C. 400. It must have been inscribed considerably later.

Such is Waddell's method of identifying Bart-olon, on which so very much depends in the whole argument. Having "established" this Waddell goes on by philological means to 'disclose' a Phœnician origin for several names in the neighbourhood of the Newton Stone: *e.g.*, Wartle, Wast-hill, Bourtie, Bartle, Barthol, and Bartholomew, which he finds is actually Bart-olomus, Bart-olon. The Brude title also of so many of the ancient historical kings of the Picts in Scotland (this people, by the way, being non-Aryan) "now appears clearly derived from Prwt or Pràt, with variant Brut, as a title of Part-olon." Waddell, however, explains at length that the "kings entitled Brude, Bruide or Bride," ruling over the Picts, "themselves appear to have been not Picts in race but Bart-ons or Brit-on Scots, *i.e.*, Aryans" and Phœnicians by origin, like Bart-olon, the Scot of the Newton Stone. This explanation, however, raises a difficulty. If the ruling race was so entirely foreign, it is not *primâ facie* apparent why the present race of the British Isles should have that ruling race as its principal ancestors. We shall see how Waddell deals with this question.

## 5. The Vans, the Picts and the Scots.

In order to clear the ground for "the great and hitherto unsolved question as to how and when the Aryan language and civilisation were first introduced into Britain and by what racial agency," Waddell dives into three questions :—

(1) Who were the aborigines of Ireland on Partolon's arrival ?

(2) Who were the Picts ?

(3) Who were the Celts ?

As these three races—the Wans, Vans or Fens "presumably the Fene or Fein title of the early Irish," the Picts of Scotland, and the Celts, are non-Aryan, Waddell's lucubrations do not here demand the same close attention as when he is considering the "Phœnician Britons." He only deals with them to clear the ground, but he does so in the same manner and with the same wealth of enquiry and decisions as he employs in the case of the Phœnicians.

Firstly he discloses the "Van or Fain origin of Irish aborigines and of their Serpent-worship of St. Brigid, and of the matrilinear customs of the Irish and the Picts." The first migration into Erin is "stated in the Irish records to have been led by a woman, Ceasair or Cesair," who, as the matriarch, landed at Duna-mark in Bantry Bay, "adjoining Part-olon's traditional landing place at Scene in Kenmare Bay." Now, the term 'Bantry Bay' means "the Bay of the shore of the Bans [Vans]." I may remark here that he has seen Macalister's work on the ancient days, but his opinion is "in no way modified by it."

Waddell then at great length leads us right across Europe to Asia Minor and to India in his search for Ceasair's people, the Vans. To him the evidence of their existence in the British Isles is broadcast in place names, suggesting that "the whole of Britain was formerly known as the Land of the Pents, Venets, Bans, Fins or Vans," while the old name for ancient Britain as Al-Ban [whence Albion] means *probably* "the Rocky Isle of the Van or Ban." After going through Europe and Asia Minor and finding the Vans everywhere, Waddell says :—"these Vans or Biani were clearly, I find, the Pani aborigines of the Indian Vedic hymns and epics, who opposed the early Aryans in establishing their higher solar religion before the departure of the Eastern branch of the Aryans to India." This remark must be due to his denial, already alluded to, of the Vedas and the Epics referring to India : the Pani

referred to would be, in his view, tribes in Asia Minor. Then Waddell adds :—" they were *possibly* also, *I think*, the remote prehistoric originals of the Fan barbarians, as the Chinese still term generally the barbarous tribes on the Western frontiers of the Celestial Empire, as far at least as Asia Minor."

Waddell thinks that " primitive matriarchist dwarfs " from Van [Armenia] penetrated to Britain at the end of the old Stone Age *viâ* Gaul. They brought with them two fetishes of the Serpent-cult : (1) the Magic Oracle Bowl or Witches' Cauldron or Chura of Fire, and (2) Fal's Fiery Stone (Lia Fail). Later the female patron Saint of the Irish was Brigid, Bridget or Bride, an old pagan goddess, admitted into the Church and canonized for proselytising purposes. The tribal name Fomor, Umor, of the descendants of the matriarch Ceasair. Waddell traces to the name " of a chief of a clan of the dwarf tribes of the Vans, called in the Gothic Edda Baombur," = probably Virnur, the Upper Euphrates, separating the ancient territories of the Vans and the Goths, Baombuo's tribe Vans. Thus, roughly speaking, does Waddell deal with the aborigines of Ireland, and in the course of his discourse the Picts are often mentioned as being mixed up with the Vans. He, therefore, proceeds to enquire into the Picts, whom he finds to be " non-Aryan in racial nature and in affinity with the Matriarchist Van, Wan or Fian dwarfs, and as aborigines of Britain in the Stone Age."

The Picts "have hitherto baffled all enquiries. Their name does not appear in Latin authors before A.D. 296, *presumably* because . . . . that was not their proper name, but a nickname." They next appear with the Scots (Irish Scots) in A.D. 360 as " breaking through the Antonine Wall between the Forth and Clyde." They then harried the Britons till the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, when they joined with the Britons against them. They dwelt in caves and were associated with the ' Pixies,' were matriarchal and connected with the Feins of Ireland, *i.e.*, with the Vans, and disappeared historically on being finally conquered in A.D. 850. Waddell is of opinion that their sudden appearance and disappearance is "*probably* due to a mere change in their tribal name as aborigines." ' Pict ' he thinks is due to the Latin *pictus*, painted, that is ' woad-dyed,' and the British forms of Pict, Peht, Pett, Peith, and so on, to their smallness (*cf.* English, *petty* ; Welsh, *pitiw* ; French, *petit*). It is also the Pit, Pet, connected with many place names. " On a review of all the new available evidence" Wadell thinks that their proper name was "Khal-des or Khal-tis . . . . applied to the aborigines of Van in Asia Minor . . . . in the ninth century B.C." This name is preserved, he also thinks, in Caledon, Clyde, Caldor, Chiltern and many other names. Ictis (Vectis) for the Isle of Wight is also, according to him, another form of the name. On all the evidence he looks on the Picts as a " primitive small-statured people *probably* from the Van Lake region [Armenia] . . . . wandering Westwards . . . . ultimately reaching Albion . . . . and giving off a branch to Erin." They are in fact one with the Vans. But we are not yet in a position to consider further the Brit-ons of the Aryan Part-olon until we have considered the Celts, who were, says Waddell, Aryans according to the philologists, but not Aryans according to anthropologists. He considers the Celts, Kelts or Culdees to be the Khaldes of Van or the Picts. This is to say that the Vans, the Picts, and the Celts are all types of one and the same race ; but " unless the Celts are out of the way, we cannot solve the vexed question of the origin of the Britons and the Aryan question in Britain."

In the first place, the term Celt or Kelt, with its adjective, was " only introduced into the British Isles by unscientific philologists and ethnologists some few decades ago." In Greek and Latin authorities, Waddell tells us, the Celts were limited to Western Europe, *i.e.*, Gaul, but were never spoken of as being in Britain. Their first appearance as inhabitants of Britain was in A.D. 1706, whence " that application of the name got into literature from 1757 onwards. Thus " the so-called British and Irish Celts were not Celts and there were even no Celts in Britain."

Who then were the Celts ? Waddell answers that they were "early Picts calling themselves Kholdis or Khattis, an early primitive people," who, he finds on a mass of evidence, " were the early Chaldees or Galat-i or Gal-li of Van and Eastern Asia Minor and Mesopotamia in the Stone Age." Anyhow, they were not Britons.

**6. Brutus the Trojan and British Civilisation.**

The way is now clear to go on with " the hitherto unsolved question as to how and when the Aryan language and civilisation were first introduced into Britain and by what racial agency." Let us begin with Brutus the Trojan. " ' At length he came to this island named after him Britannia, dwelt there and filled it with his descendants ' :—Nennius (Ninian)." And then Waddell goes on :—" this earlier portion of the *Chronicles* records circumstantially the first arrival of the Britons by sea in Albion under King Brutus the Trojan about the year B.C. 1103, and his colonisation and first cultivation of the land, and his bestowal thereon of his Trojan (Aryan) language and his own patronymic name Brit in the form of Brit-ain or the Land of the Brit-ons." Brutus the Trojan is not mentioned in the Latin classics, and Waddell explains this ommission at some length, rehabilitating the early British *Chronicles*. Brutus' traditional birth-place was " in the Tiber province of Latium," which Waddell " connects directly both with Troy and Ancient Britain."

The story of Brutus is succinctly as follows : After the Trojan War Œneas with Ascanius fled to Italy, obtained the kingdom of Italy (Latium) and Lavinia, the daughter of king Latinus. He was succeeded by Ascanius, who was the father of Brutus. Here Waddell has a characteristic note :—" King Latinus of Mid-Italy is stated in Nennius' version to be the son of Faunus [? Van ], the son of Picus [? Picts], the son of Saturn." Brutus accidentally killed his father and fled the country, going to Greece, whence he took a large fleet with men and treasure to Gades (Cadiz), and thence again to Albion, where he arrived about B.C. 1103. Here the *Chronicle* says :—" Brutus called the island after his own name Britannia and his companions Brit-ons . . . . from whence afterwards the language of his nation, which at first bore the name of Trojan [Doric Greek] or rough Greek, was called Brit-ish . . . . But Corineus, in imitation of his leader, called that part of the island, which was given to him as Duke, Corinea and his people Corinene [Cornish men]." About B.C. 1100 " Brutus founded on the Thames a city [London]," which he called "New Troy," by corruption afterwards known as Tri-Novantum, until " Lud, the brother of Cassi-vellaun, who made war against Julius Cæsar, obtained the government of the kingdom . . . . and called it after his own name Kaer-Lud, that is the City of Lud [or Lud-Dun corrupted into Lon-don]." Brutus died about B.C. 1080, and his kingdom was divided among " three famous sons named Locrin [England], Albanact [Scotland], and Kamber [Wales]." Waddell avers that the whole account of the wanderings of Brutus is credible, finding Græco-Phœnician Colonies under Corineus, who bore a Græco-Phœnician name, at Gades, and also where he landed in Britain—Totnes, with a Brutus Stone still shown, not far from the tin mines of Cornwall. At this last place " descendants from the Romans [properly Trojans from Alba on the Tiber] under Sylvius Posthumus [maternal great-uncle of Brutus] " were already settled. " The date of the invasion of Alban [Britain] by Brutus and his associated Phœnicians is fixed directly by totalling up the reported years of reigns in Britain of Brutus and his continuous line of descendants and successors down to Cassivellaunus and his successors in the Roman period."

Having in such fashion dealt with the first invasion of Albion by " Trojan and Phœnician refugees from Asia Minor and Phœnicia." Waddell launches on the " Aryanising civilisation of the Picts and Celts of Britain by Brutus and his Brito-Phœnician Goths," and in the course

of his remarks, he discloses "the Phœnician origin of the Celtic, Cymric, Gothic and English languages, and the founding of London in the Bronze Age." He commences with a quotation from the *Rig Veda* :—"the tribes subject to the Cedi [Ceti or Getœ, Goth Phœnicians] are skin-clad." Cedi here would, however, in ordinary English script, be written Chedi, and Ceti = Keti. This consideration immediately raises a question; can we legitimately equate Chedi with Keti or Getæ ?

The *Chronicles* describe an opposition to the invasion of Brutus by 'giants,' and this introduces a new people as inhabitants of Britain, whom Waddell calls "an earlier trading branch of the Aryans and Phœnicians—the Muru or Amuru or Amorite giants and erectors of the Stone Circles and the Giants' Tombs"—old exploiters of the Cornish tin-mines centuries before Sylvius and Brutus.—"The higher Aryan civilisation" was, however, introduced by Brutus, who set to work at once on landing "to till the ground and build houses." The houses he built were of timber ; *i.e.*, they were Hitto-Phœnician, as is seen from "the common Briton affix for towns of *-bury*, *-boro*, *-burg* (as well as *broch*), and Sanskrit, *pura*, . . . . derived from the Hittite and Catti *buru*, a Hittite town, citadel or fort." He travelled across England from Totnes to the estuary of the Thames, giving names to the chief rivers, which Waddell finds, including the name of the Thames itself, to be "clearly transplanted namesakes from the rivers of Epirus, whence Brutus sailed, and rivers of Troy and Phœnicia," in a style common to all time. He instances, *inter alia*, the Exe, the Axe, the Avon, the Ouse, and the Thames, which last is "clearly named after the Thyamis, the great river of Epirus, the Phœnician origin of which *seems* evident by its chief tutelary being named Cadmus, the name of the famous colonising and civilising sea-king of the Phœnicians." On the Thames Brutus founded Tri-Novantum (London) three centuries or more before the foundation of Rome. He prescribed laws, which "involves writing in the Aryan Phœnician language and script . . . . the form of which . . . . we have seen in about B.C. 400 on the Newton Stone." As has already been said, Tri-Novantum also became later Kaer-Lud. This leads Waddell to make a typical note :—"Kaer, the Cymric for fortified city, is now seen to be derived from Sumerian *gar*, to hold, establish, of men or places : cognate with Indo-Persian *garh*, fort[11] ; Sanskrit, *grih*, house ; Eddic-Gothic, *goera*, to build, and *gard* or *garth*."

What was the language that Brutus introduced and imposed on the aborigines of Albion and on the names of very many places, rivers and mountains ? It could not be Celtic or classic Greek or Roman. It was obviously Trojan, which the *Chronicle* says "was roughly Greek which was called British." This Trojan was Doric Greek, "contemporary specimens of which fortunately still exists from the twelfth to the tenth centuries B.C. . . . . . in Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik." Waddell finds the Trojan script and language clearly akin to those of the later Aryan Phœnicians, and of the runes of the Goths, and of the legends stamped on the pre-Roman British Coins of the Catti, and the parent of the language and writing of the present day in Britain—"the so-called English language and script." The Goths Waddell has already "disclosed" to be Hitt-ites, who were "primitive Goths," and their runes have to him an obvious "affinity" to Hitt-ite script. The Anglo-Saxons are much later on the scene, so it is "evident that the so-called Celtic and the Brithyonic Celtic languages in the British Isles are merely provincial dialects derived from the Aryan Trojan Doric introduced by King Brutus the Trojan."

This great man also introduced Law, Art and Roads, so that the early Britons were anything but savages. Bronze was introduced by the Phœnician Morite or Amorite exploiters

11 This word is, however, properly *gaḍh*, and the *r* is not at all the letter *r* of Persian.

of the tin mines centuries before Brutus, but he popularised it. In Religion he introduced an "exalted monotheistic religion with the idea of One God of the Universe, symbolised by his chief visible luminary, the Sun," that is Bel, in contradistinction from the aboriginal matriarchal serpents and the bloody sacrifices of the Druids. In fact Brutus created in the Britons a highly civilised, proud, powerful, refined race, who soon founded a colony on the Rhine (B.C. 970), so that there is "disclosed a hitherto unobserved British origin of the Anglo-Saxons and the Anglo-Saxon Language." This opens up a vista for Waddell of many "British" remains in Denmark, France, Germany and Moravia up to the Russian borders.

Thus does Waddell show the Amorite-Catti-Phœnician origin of 'Things British.' The Brito-Phœnicians, he says, have left their marks broad-cast on place-names of all sorts all over the British Isles. Quoting from the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* that "the principal nations of the Bhârats are the Kurus [Syrians] and the able Panch [Phœnicians]," Waddell (the ascription of the *Bhârata* and *Panchâla* of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* are his) gives a large number of names all over the country containing *Barat* in some form or other, or *Sumer*, on the ground that "Cymry (pronounced Cumri) or Cumbers is derived from Sumer," the alternative tribal epithet of the Phœnicians. The reader will find many surprising facts stated, and then Waddell passes in the same vein to "Catti, Keith, Gad and Cassi, titles in old ethnic and place names." He commences again with a quotation from the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*:—"his [the Khattiya's][12] sources of subsistence are arms and the protection of the earth. The guardianship of the earth is his special province . . . . By intimidating the bad and cherishing the good, the [Khattiya] ruler, who maintains the discipline of the different tribes, secures whatever region he desires." Waddell's ascription of 'Khattiya' to the people spoken of is explained in a foot-note:—"the old Indian Pali form of this tribal name was Khattiyo, which is spelt Kshatriya in the later Sanskrit?" But this statement raises the questions: what has Pali to do with the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*? Is Pali older than Sanskrit? Whatever the answers may be, Waddell finds Khatti and its allied terms spread everywhere in Britain.

Beginning with the classical Cassiterides of the Cornwall "tin islands," which name finds spread wherever tin—"the *cassiteros* [so he spells it] of Homer and the classic Greeks and the Sanskrit *kastîra*"—was taken "by the Cassi . . . . the leading clan of the sea-going Phœnicians." Here he says some remarkable things:—"the Attic Greeks wrote 'katti-teros and Katti-terides,' thus showing the same equivalency as was used in Britain for the Cassi and Katti tribes and coins. In . . . . Sanskrit tradition *kastîra* is tin and the place-name Kâstîra, or place of *kastîra* or tin, was located in the land of the Bâhîkas, a despised out-cast tribe, who also gave their name to a sheet of water, and who now *seem* to be Peahts or Picts of the Sea of Victis or Icht in Cornwall. The Arabs called tin *kaz-dir*, and the Assyrians and Sumerians . . . . *kizasadir*, *kasduru* and *kazduru*." So the Cornish tin mines belonged to the Cassi tribe, and Waddell gives a number of place-names containing reference to the Cassi all over England and Scotland, stating that there are a similar number in Ireland.

He next observes that there are many Cassi-Catti "pre-Roman Briton" coins, and then he goes on to say:—"the current notion that the early Britons derived their coinage by imitating a stater of Philip II of Macedonia (B.C. 366—360) can no longer be maintained. Indeed one of the chief advocates of the old theory was latterly forced to confess, on further

12 But in the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* surely the term would be 'the Kshatriya's.'

observation, that the Macedonian stater could not be the sole prototype from which the early Briton kings modelled their coinage." Waddell's view is that the coin is Phœnician in origin. Finally, Waddell gives a number of English surnames, despite their known late origin, which "clearly" preserve "vestiges of the name of the Catti, Khatti or Gad tribal title of the Aryan-Phœnician citizen of Britain . . . . *presumably* in patrilinear descent."

### 7. Morite Phoenician Stone Circles.

Having thus dealt with the revival and distribution of the Phœnicians in waves over Britain, Waddell discusses the prehistoric stone circles still found there and elsewhere. Here his views are as subversive as ever, and he openly follows the theory of distribution by Phœnicians propounded by Elliot Smith and Perry. To give the trend of this argument, it is necessary to quote him at length. "The great prehistoric Stone Circles of gigantic unhewn boulders, dolmens (or table-stones), and monoliths, sometimes called Catt Stones, still standing in weird majesty over many parts of the British Isles, also now appear to attend their Phœnician origin. The mysterious race, who created these cyclopean monuments, wholly forgotten and unknown, now appears from the new evidence to have been the earlier wave of immigrant mining merchant Phœnician Barats, or Catti Phœnicians of the Muru, Mer, or Martu clan —the Amorite Giants of the Old Testament tradition; and from whom *it would seem* that Albion obtained its earliest name (according to the First Welsh Triad) of Clâs Myrd-in (Merddin) or 'Diggings of the Myrd' . . . . about B.C. 2800." To this statement he appends the following remarks:—This early Phœnician title of Muru, Mer, Marutu or Martu meaning the 'Western Sea' or 'Sea of the Setting-Sun,' which now *seems* obviously the Phœnician source of the names Mauret-ania or Morocco . . . . Mor-bihan or Little Mor, . . . . is found . . . . in Britain associated with Stone Circles and megaliths, and mostly on the coast; *e.g.*, Mori-dunum. . . . . several More-dun, Mor-ton and Mar-tin, Cœr Marthen, West Mor-land, More-cambe Bay, Moray, etc."

Waddell then brings arguments to show that the Phœnician remains in Egypt, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, are identical with, or similar to those in Britain, and that these last date long before Brutus the Trojan. He next states that "the purpose of the great Stone Circles now appears, somewhat more clearly than before, from observations now recorded, to have been primarily for solar observation; whilst the smaller circles seem mainly sepulchral."

On the first of these points Waddell found something for himself "which has hitherto escaped the notice of previous observers." He found "by personal examination at Stonehenge, Keswick, Penrith, etc., that the point of observation was not at the centre of the circle, but at the opposite or south-west border, where I found a marked observation Stone." At Keswick . . . . where the fine circle is "locally called Castle Rigg, or Castle of the Rig, a title of the Gothic kings, cognate with the Latin Rex, Regis and the Sanskrit Râja of the Indo-Aryans, and the Ricon of the Briton coins . . . . he found "an observation stone, with marks on it, inscribed in "Sumerian linear script" reading "seeing the low-sun," which was *presumably* "seeing the sun on the horizon." He then found a similarly inscribed stone at Stonehenge and in several other circles.

On these purely personal observations he builds up a long argument to show that "the great prehistoric Stone Circles in ancient Britain were raised by the early Mor-ite scientific Brito-Phœnicians as solar observatories . . . . and that their descendant Britons continued to regard them as sacred places." On the way to this result Waddell remarks that the name Hare-Stones is sometimes applied to the Circles in Scotland, and they seem to him to contain "the Harri or Heria title of the ruling Goths of the *Eddas*, which I show is the equivalent of the Hittite title of Harri or Arri or Aryan." The name "Kes-wick . . . . means the Abode of the Kes, *i.e.*, the Cassi clan of the Hittites."

*(To be continued.)*

## BOOK-NOTICES.

THE PRAKRIT DHATV-ADESAS, by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1920.

This is another of Sir George Grierson's invaluable notes on Indian philology. A *dhâtvâdêśa* is a Prakrit root-substitute for a Sanskrit root : such as whereby Prakrit *hoi* can be an equivalent for Sanskrit *bhavati*. Sir George then points out that Prakrit roots are (1) identical with the corresponding Sanskrit roots, (2) regularly derived from them, (3) unconnected by any admitted phonetic rule, *e.g.*, where Skr. root *cal-* equals Prak. root *call-* (4) derived from Skr. roots but having changed their meaning, are substituted from some other Sanskrit root with a meaning more nearly akin. The last two classes from the *âdêśas*.

Sir George then gives 1590 Prakrit forms collected from five standard works. His lists, however, go beyond the true *âdêśas* and include "many perfectly regular Prakrit words." In discussing the last of the classes of Prakrit roots above described, Sir George makes a very valuable remark : "there was never one uniform school of Prakrit Grammarians for the whole of India. There were certainly at least an Eastern and a Western school, which had marked variations in their teachings . . . . each school developed independently of the other, so that after the lapse of centuries the divergences became very wide." All this is well worth bearing in mind.

As a matter of detail Sir George points out that the nasalisation of words in modern Indian vernaculars is no modern innovation, nor is it accidental, but as a development it is at least as old as the *dhâtvâdêśas*. Here again we have a very valuable suggestion.

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HINDU ASTRONOMY, by G. R. KAYE. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. No. 18. 1924.

Of this most useful compilation Mr. Kaye writes in his Preface that "although this summary account goes over old ground it is all based upon original texts." I would like to add that when an expert goes to the original texts it matters nothing how much his subject covers old ground. In his Introduction Mr. Kaye carefully scrutinises the history of the examination of Hindu astronomy by European students in a scholarly manner and winds up with this pregnant paragraph : "In the following chapters considerable attention is paid to the earlier Greek period of Hindu astronomy, and the later material might, with some propriety, have been excluded altogether. However, not only has this later period a sort of traditional claim to attention, but its study often helps to elucidate obscure points of the earlier period. For the Hindus, when they absorbed Western ideas, often gave them an Indian setting ; and also the period of absorption is one of such extreme interest in the history of civilization that any light thrown on it from the east is valuable. Therefore this later system has been analysed in some detail and a brief account of the chief Hindu astronomers who expounded the Western astronomy has been included," (may I add ? ) to the very great benefit of all students.

Mr. Kaye then goes into the earliest works dealing in some way or other with astronomy, and these he dates from B.C. 1200 to A.D. 200—all early Hindu dates are however still controversial—and calls them the Periods of the Vedas, Brâhmaṇas and Upanishads, Sûtras and Vedâṅgas. The *Mahâbhârata*, *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Purâṇas* he considers apart ; and finally he calls the whole of the oldest works Period A, which he divides into Vedic (A1), and Post-Vedic (A2). He then divides the other early writings into Period B (B.C. 400 to 1000), and subdivides them into the Gupta (B1) and Bhâskara (B2). In this Period B wrote Puliśa, Âryabhaṭa, Varâha Mihira, Brahmagupta and Bhâskara. In the Vedic times the year had 360 days with occasional intercalary months, in Post-Vedic times there was a five-year cycle of 5 × 366 days. In the Gupta times came knowledge of the planets and eclipses of formal astrology and other details. In the Bhâskara times there was a further development of these latter matters.

Mr. Kaye then examines the texts under the Period A1 including the Jâtakas and passes on to early formal astronomy, *i.e.*, Period A2, "the main astronomical features of which are (*a*) the five-year cycle of 5 × 366 days, and (*b*) the omission of all references to planetary astronomy." Here he again examines the texts. This starts him on the discussion of definite astronomical subjects, such as the Nakshatras, Stars and Constellations, Years and Seasons, Solstices and Equinoxes, and Precession. All this leads him to consider the important subject of Vedic Chronology and "a number of arguments that have been employed to fix the chronology of the earliest Hindu works. These are fairly stated and the reader can form his own opinion of their value. Mr. Kaye then considers the Planets and the week days—subjects on which he is very informing.

He is then taken to the introduction of Greek astronomy about 400 A.D., and its dominating influence on Hindu astronomical teaching, which is admirably exhibited. This brings him to his (second) Period B—the study of Hindu-Greek astronomy and the great astronomers who presented it. Mr. Kaye subjects them to a searching criticism, and then passes on to Hindu Astronomical

Instruments. "The only instruments of practical utility for astronomical purposes described in ancient Hindu works are the sun-dial and the clepsydra. An armillacy sphere is also described as an instrument for purposes of demonstration. The only Hindu instrument of any antiquity actually found is the clepsydra, consisting of a metal bowl floating in a vessel of water." A footnote adds: "It is the only instrument described in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*," and to this it may be added that time was kept in the Royal Palace at Mandalay by a clepsydra, when the British took possession in 1885.

Mr. Kaye then attempts "to summarise, with the aid of modern mathematical formula, the more technical portions of the classical Sanskrit astronomical texts" and this "to aid the study of a particular intellectual phase" of a period "characterised by a remarkable renaissance of literature, art and science in India." (A.D. 500—1000.) And thus Mr. Kaye is drawn to certain "conclusions," which all students of things Indian should study and digest, and he winds up his very valuable monograph with remarkable observations on Hindu astrology (Appendix I). He adds a further Appendix on Hindu Astronomical Deities, which has, however, already appeared in *JASB.*, 1920.

Altogether, Mr. Kaye has produced here a most important monograph, of which the only criticism I have to offer is as to the form in which it is printed. It would be so much more handy, and therefore more useful to students generally, if it were printed in octavo form. This would be quite feasible as there are no plates.

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EARLY JESUIT TRAVELLERS IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1603-1721, by C. WESSELLS, S.J., Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1924.

This is a work of real value to all occupied in historical research. It gives accounts in detail of those early missionaries, whom the Jesuits sent into Central Asia in the 17th century, and of whom we have had but the scantiest knowledge hitherto, and that not by any means accurate. Father Wessells has now, however, written a scientific and authoritative book, based on documents in actual existence, though they are difficult to get at, and he has thus not only done justice to a most worthy series of old travellers, but has dug a well of sound knowledge for those who would appease their thirst for it at the original sources. One can hardly speak too highly of a work of this description.

The old Jesuit fathers thus resuscitated are firstly Bento de Goes (1562—1607), who became a Jesuit in 1584 at Goa and started travelling for the Society in 1595, continuing to do so till his death twelve years later. In this short period he went first to Lahore and Agra. Then he returned to Lahore on his journey to "Cathay," *via* Kabul to Yarkand and Khotan. Two years later he started for China from Yarkand, going to Aksu, Turfan, Cham: and thence to Su-cheu, where he died. As a journey alone it was a great accomplishment, as another great traveller, Sir Aurel Stein, testified in words of warm sympathy 300 years later. But the great value of it was that Goes discovered to the world of searchers that Cathay is China.

Father Wessels then takes us to Antonio de Andrade (1580–1634), who reached Goa in 1600, but did no travelling till 1624, when he set out from Agra, for Tibet, reaching Tsaparang *via* Srinagar in Garhwal and returning to Agra in the same year. On this first journey he was accompanied by Manoel Marques, another Jesuit. In the following year 1625, Andrada started again for Tsaparang and laid the foundation of the first Christian Church there in the following year. This time Fathers G. de Souza and Marques, were with him and the mission was joined later by others: Fathers de Oliveira, dos Anjos and Godinho, and Antonio Pereira, Antonio de Fonseca, F. de Azevedo. Andrade himself returned to Goa and died there in 1634. After his departure others carried on the mission, which lasted till 1641 after a fashion, when the Tibetans closed Tibet and Marques was left a prisoner in their hands. Andrade did great things for geography, but they raised much controversy later on.

Next comes Francisco de Azevedo (1578—1660). Unlike the others, he lived to be 82, after working at various mission stations in India. He became a Jesuit in 1597 at Goa, and out of his long life he only spent six months in the Himalayas in 1631. He started by going from Agra to Tsaparang, whence he went to Leh and thence to Lahaul and Kulu (Nagar), and back to Agra. He has left a valuable and most interesting correspondence behind, which is now unearthed for the first time.

Following Andrade's advice in a letter from Tsaparang, Fathers Stephan Cacella and T. Cabral started for Utsang (Tibet) in 1626 from Cochin. Stephen Cacella (1585-1630) became a Jesuit in 1604 and reached India in 1614. J. Cabral (1599–1669) became a Jesuit 1619 and arrived in India 1624. In 1626 they both reached Hugli and then Dacca and Hajo (in Assam). Thence they went to Kuch Bihar and Rangamati, and thence to Phari in Bhutan. Then they went separately to Shigatse in Utsang (Tibet), arriving there in 1628. In 1629 Cacella returned to Kuch Bihar and there picked up Father Manoel Diaz; with whom he started at once back for Shigatze, but Father Diaz died at Morang and Cacella himself in the next year at Shigatze. In 1631 Cabral returned to India *via* Khatmandu, Patna, Rajmahal and Hugli. Thereafter he travelled far indeed; in Japan, Tonkin, Malacca and Macao, returning finally to India, dying at Goa in 1669.

This journey to Tibet *viâ* Bhutan and home *viâ* Nepal was as adventurous and valuable as any and we cannot be too grateful to Father Wessels for reconstructing it from original manuscripts.

Next come Johann Grueber and Albert d'Orville, a German and a Belgian, with a tremendous journey. Grueber (1623—1680) became a Jesuit in 1641 and set out for China in 1656, *viâ* Surat and Macao. From 1659to 1661 he was employed in the Observatory at Pekin. Albert d'Orville (1621—1662) became a Jesuit in 1646 and set out for China *viâ* Goa, Macassar, Macao and Shansi. In 1660 he joined Grueber at the Observatory at Pekin. In 1661 they started across the Asiatic continent on their wonderful journey to India. They went *viâ* Hsi-ning and the Great Wall to Lhasa, thence *viâ* Khatmandu to Agra, which they reached the following year (1662). Here d'Orville died soon after arrival from the effects of the journey.

At Agra Grueber found another companion in Heinrich Roth (1620–1668). He became a Jesuit in 1639, was in Smyrna in 1651 and proceeded to Goa *viâ* Ispahan, and finally went to Agra where he joined Grueber. In the end, after much wandering, he died in Agra. With Roth, the indefatigable Grueber started for Rome *viâ* Delhi and Lahore and down the Indus to Tatta. Thence through Mehran and Kirman to Ormuz, and thence by road through Mesopotamia to Smyrna by a route known to Roth. They reached Rome in 1664. Three months later Grueber started with Roth back towards China, but he only got as far as Constantinople, where he became seriously ill and had to return by sea to Leghorn and thence to Florence. Roth went on alone to India. Thereafter little is known of Grueber except that he did not return to China and died at Sarospatak in Hungary in 1680.

All these men, Grueber, d'Orville and Roth were wonderful travellers, especially when we consider the conditions under which they travelled and the absence of maps and predecessors' accounts and also the ill-will that many high personages among Muhammadans and others evinced to them *en route*. The pity is that they were not men with a ready pen.

The last Jesuit traveller of the 17th century to come under Father Wessel's notice is Hippolyte Desideri, an Italian (1684—1733). Becoming a Jesuit in 1700, he left Rome with Manoel Freyre for India in 1712. In 1714 he set out from Delhi for Tibet, *viâ*, Srinagar (in Kashmir) and Leh, and arrived at Lhasa in 1716, whence Freyre returned to India. Desideri wandered about Tibet till 1721, when he was back in Lhasa, whence he returned to India *viâ* Kulti and Khatmandu, reaching Agra in 1722. Finally he returned to Rome, where he arrived in 1728 and died in 1733. There has been much controversy over Desideri's travels and one is thankful to Father Wessels for "reinstating" him from original documents.

These old Jesuits were wonderful men and we cannot be too grateful to the editor of their correspondence for thus placing before us the work they did and the difficulties they overcame in their simple, unassuming way.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA, by SANTOSH KUMAR DAS. Calcutta, 1925.

This little book contains a series of lectures delivered to the defunct *Kalikâtâ Vidyâpiṭh* in 1922–23 by the author, who is now Professor of History and Economics at the Tribhuban Chandra College of Nepal and formerly at the Bagerhat College, Khulna, Bengal.

As the Institution before which the lectures were delivered is dead, Prof. S. K. Das has thought it best to publish them with additions, and he has done his best to cover his assertions by quoting his authorities—of which there seems to be about 150 of all sorts and ages, judging by his list.

His lectures cover the whole ancient period of Indian History from the Palæolithic, Neolithic, Copper and Rig-Vedic Ages, through the Brâhmaṇa, Buddhist, Mauryan, Kushân and Gupta Periods to Harsha. And he appears to take a sensible view of his subject in the ancient times, avoiding "on principle all theoretical disquisitions," and aiming at presenting "the facts in a connected manner with a view to illustrate, as far as possible, the gradual development of the economic conditions from the earliest times." Altogether, it is a good book to place in the hands of young students.

R. C. TEMPLE.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### NORTH INDIAN PROVERBS.

In reference to the North Indian Proverbs, collected by the late Dr. W. Crooke, which appeared in the issue of this *Journal* for November 1924, Sir George Grierson writes as follows :—

"These sayings are very common all over North India in slightly varying forms. Collections of them have more than once been made, and will be found in my *Bihar Peasant Life*, pp. 274 ff. and in Patrick Carnegy's *Kachahri Technicalities*, Allahabad, 1877, pp. 217 ff. Probably all those printed in the *Indian Antiquary* of November, 1924, will be found in *Bihar Peasant Life*, including two different versions of the first saying in the list.

The wording of these sayings varies, as I have remarked, but the substance is always preserved. In North India agricultural operations are dated by the position of the Sun in the Lunar asterisms *i.e.*, according to the Solar year. The Lunar-Solar year current in N. India is manifestly unsuitable for dating agricultural operations."

EDITOR.

# THE DATE OF THE KAUTILIYA.

BY H. C. RAY, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 175.)

Germany under the Hohenzollerns wanted to play the part of the *Vijigîṣu* on the continent. Before them France under Louis XIV and Napoleon had tried and failed at Blenheim and Waterloo, and at present it is the power of the legions of France and the Navy of Britain that is keeping the peace of Europe. France under the leadership of Poincaré is again trying to play the role of a 'conqueror.' Germany is her enemy. Because

*tasya samantato maṇḍalîbhûtâ bhûmyantarâ ariprakṛtiḥ.*

(The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is the enemy.[18])

And Germany is the *natural enemy* of France, because

*bhûmyanantaraṁ prakṛtyâmitraḥ tulyâbhijanassahajaḥ.*

(The foe who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to the conqueror is a natural enemy.[19])

Again Russia before the war, and Poland after it is the friend of France. For Kauṭilya says :—

*tathaiva bhûmyekântarâ mitraprakṛtiḥ.*

(The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror.[20]) Similarly it can be shown that in the age-long conflict between France and Germany, Italy has played the part of a *Madhyama*, and America that of an *Udâsîna* power. Italy joined this war owing to her natural hostility to Austria, and America, because the Lusitania was sunk and her commercial interests were jeopardised.

The above will show that there is nothing in Kauṭilya, which is inconsistent with strongly established kingdoms and empires. It only pre-supposes the existence of groups of states, all of which were not necessarily small or weak. No one can say that when Chandragupta ruled, there were no other kingdoms in India. There was the powerful state of Kaliṅga, which was not conquered till the time of his grandson Aśoka, and beyond that the Andhra and Tamil States. On the North-Western frontier of India lay the powerful Selukid Empire, and it is well-known that the vision of the Maurya politicians was not limited by the four corners of India, but took cognisance of even distant Egypt and Macedon.[21] Kauṭilya's denunciation of a king with a *Kṣudrapariṣad*,[22] his rejection of the views of the Mânavas, Bârhaspatyas and the Auśanasas, his reference to Indra's *Pariṣad* of a thousand *ṛṣis*,[23] his mention of a *Chakravartikṣetra* in Northern India extending over a thousand *yojanas*, and lastly the whole of the second book give clear indications that, when the author was writing, a big and a growing centralised empire existed in the North of India.

Dr. Nâg has also raised objection on another point. In his opinion the most definite argument against Prof. Jacobi's theory is furnished by an examination of the geographical facts. He says 'any serious student will hesitate to consider as having been written in the fourth century B.C. a treatise containing names like Hârahura and Kapiśâ,[24] Kâmbhoja and

18 *Arthaśâstra*. 2nd ed , p. 260 and *Trans.*, 2nd ed., p. 312.

19 *Ibid.*, and *Trans.*, 2nd ed., p. 313. In a later age the Chalukyas of Vâtâpi were the *prakṛtyâmitra* of the Pallava sovereigns of the South.

20 *Ibid.* 21 *Asoka's Rock Edict*, XIII. 22 *Arthaśâstra*, p. 259.

23 *Political History of Ancient India*, by Dr. H. C. Raychowdhury, p. 148.

24 The correct form of the name is Kâpiśa and not Kapiśâ, as Dr. Nâg spells the word. The spelling of some of the words in this quotation is wrong, *e.g.*, Hârahûra and not Hârahura.

Aratta, Bâlhika and Vanâyu, Tâmraparni and Pândyakavâta, Suvarnakudya and Suvarnabhûmi, Chîna and Nepâla.' Let us see how far this argument is sustainable. Of these geographical terms Bâlhika is mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*.[25] Kâpiśa is mentioned not only in Pâṇini, but according to Pliny[26] it had been attacked by Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenian empire. Kâmbhoja is mentioned, not only in the *Aṅguttara Nikâya*, but also in Yâska's *Nirukta* (II. 2) and in the inscriptions of Aśoka, even if we omit the somewhat doubtful reference to it in the early Persian Inscriptions.[27] Tâmraparni and Pândya are referred to both in the *Indica* of Megasthenes and the Inscriptions of Aśoka.[28] Suvarnabhûmi is mentioned in early Pâli literature, which, according to many eminent scholars, looks back upon the Pre-Maurya period.[29] The Ârattas are referred to by the author of the Periplus in the first century A.D.[30] and that they lived in India two or three centuries before that, is proved by the evidence of the *Baudhâyana Dharmasûtras*. In fact, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has already started a plausible theory about the conquering campaigns of Chandragupta with the help of the Âraṭṭas.[31] Vanâyu is taken by Dr. Nâg in the doubtful sense of Arabia. But unless he can show that the term Vanâyu came into vogue in the Post-Mauryan period, the mention of it is no evidence in his favour. For it was not at all impossible for a Mauryan statesman to know about Arabia, if he was in constant contact with the rulers of the whole region between the Aegean sea and the Hindukush. But the mention of Chîna surely would have become a piece of valuable evidence in Dr. Nâg's favour, if it could be conclusively proved that it is derived from the 1st Tsin dynasty, which was founded by the Duke of Tsin in *c.* 221 B.C. Unfortunately the derivation is not accepted by all.[32] Mr. Giles, for instance, remarks that the constant 'coupling of the word China with the Daradas, still surviving as the people of Dardistan on the Indus, suggests it as more probable that those Chinas were a kindred race of mountaineers, whose name as Shinas in fact likewise remains applied to a branch of the Dard race.' Again it is not entirely impossible that the word is an interpolation, as Dr. Keith suggests.[33] The mention of the words Nepâla and Suvarṇa-kudya cannot be conclusive, because we do not know as yet when and how the words originated. But the occurrence of the word Hârahûra presents some difficulty. It occurs in the following passage :—

*Mṛdvîkâraso madhu. tasya svadeśo vyâkhyânaṁ kâpiśâyanaṁ hârahûrakamiti.*[34]

Now what does *hârahûraka* mean ? Does it refer to the country of Hârakûras ? The more correct form of the name that has been accepted by scholars is Hârahûṇa, the White Epthalites. Supposing, however, for the moment that the correct name is Hârahûra and not Hârahûṇa, where is the evidence that there was any country near India where this nomadic tribe was settled ? We know of no portion of India which was named after them, as portions of the Punjab, Rajputana and Kathiawar were no doubt named after the Gurjaras. Then, again, supposing that a country of the Hârahûras existed and Kauṭilya was referring to that country, we should naturally expect a *cha* after *hârahûrakam*. According to Dr. Taraporewala. 'Hârahûrakam is evidently a loan word.' The word might be a Persian word. 'Hurâ' has been used in the *Avesta* to mean wine, and in Middle Persian to mean an intoxicating drink made of mare's milk (*vide* Bartholmae, *Iranisches Worterbuch*). Hence, according to him, the

25 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 63 26 VI. 23 (25); *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 555.

27 *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 48 and pp. 54–56. *Asoka's Rock Edicts* V and XIII; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 334

28 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, 129; *Rock Edict* XIII. 29 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 213.

30 Schoff (ed.). *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 41.

31 *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, p. 124 The Ârattas are mentioned in the *Dharma Sûtras*. According to Dr. Keith 'the age to which the *Sûtras* may be assigned cannot be earlier than the seventh or later than the second century B.C.' *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 242 and 259, *Baudhâyana Dharma Sûtra*, 1, 1, 2, 9.

32 *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, XIth ed., Vol VI

33 *JRAS*, 1916, January, p. 136 34 *Arthaśâstra*, p. 120.

word probably corresponds to the Sanskrit *Sâra-Surâ* (best wine).[35] There can be no doubt, as suggested by Dr. Taraporewala, that *hârahûra* is a loan word. But the derivation suggested by him is uncertain. In lexicons *hârahûrâ* is made synonymous with 'grape,' and *hârahûra* or *hârahûraka* with 'wine.' That seems to have been the original sense, which suits here excellently. *Kâpiśâyanam hârahûrakam* will therefore mean 'wine extracted from the grapes of Kâpiśa.'[36] Thus the careful examination of the geographical information gives us no definite proof of a Post-Mauryan date for the *Kauṭilîya*.

There is another problem which deserves our attention in this connection. V. Smith, Thomas, Roychowdhury, R. K. Mookerjee and N. Law[37] have pointed out many agreements between the accounts of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya. But recently, in discussing the date of Kauṭilya in one of his Readership lectures in the Calcutta University, Prof. Winternitz laid much emphasis on the work of his pupil, Dr. Otto Stein,[38] who has tried to shew that Megasthenes agrees with Kauṭilya only in such things as would not change at different periods of time, *e.g.*, irrigation by means of canals, etc., while he contradicts Kauṭilya in many essential points. The assumption is that they must necessarily belong to different periods. But he forgets that Kauṭilya's work was not merely an 'imperial gazetteer of the Maurya Empire.' Kauṭilya makes it perfectly clear that his *Arthaśâstra* was 'a compendium of almost all the *Arthaśâstras*, which, for acquisition and protection of the earth, have been composed by ancient teachers.'[39] And as such, his work was almost an encyclopædia of the Science of Polity up to his period. Thus it would not be reasonable to expect homogeneity, in the sense that it should reflect only the epoch of Kauṭilya. Though Kauṭilya was not wholly devoid of originality as a political thinker, yet it cannot be denied, as he himself admits, that his work bore more or less the character of a compilation. Therefore the treatise naturally includes many facts which belonged to a period anterior to Kauṭilya. Then again, it is quite possible that the present treatise was written by him, before Megasthenes came to Pâṭaliputra. When he came, many innovations in administration might have been introduced by Chandragupta personally or in consultation with his ministers; for example 'the boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital,' which are unknown to our author, may have been, as V. A. Smith suggests,[40] introduced by Chandragupta personally later on.[41] Lastly, Megasthenes was not a trained critical observer. Had he been so, his *Indica* would not have spoken of the seven Indian castes and contained all the fine stories about gold-digging ants, and men who could lie down in their ears, and so forth. Moreover, the original work of Megasthenes has been lost, and his account has only survived to our times in second or third-hand extracts. In these circumstances, he must be a very brave man who would venture to declare dogmatically that since Kauṭilya and Megasthenes disagree, they must be referred to different periods.

Objections against referring Kautilya to an early date have also been taken on two more points. Prof. Jolly, for instance, after examining the legal part of the *Arthaśâstra*, has expressed the opinion that 'if the book is considered as having been written three centuries before Christ, including the legal part (*Dharmasthîyam*), then the whole accepted chronology of the Hindu

35 I. J. Sorabji, *Some Notes on the Adhyakṣapracâra*, Allahabad, 1914, p. 59.

36 It is also extremely significant that Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśâstra* never mentions the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and the Hûṇas who are generally referred to in all compositions of a later period; *cf. Kâśikâ-vṛtti on Pâṇini*, IV. 2. 99.

37 *Early History of India*, pp. 136-149; *Oxford History of India*, pp. 85-92; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 475-494; Roychowdhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 145-155. N. Law, *Studies in Hindu Polity*.

38 *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*.

39 *Arthaśâstra*, p. 1—*Pṛthivyâ lâbhe.... kṛtam*.

40 *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 141.

41 Another possibility is that suggested by Dr. R. C. Mojumdar, that the *Arthaśâstra* was written while the empire was in the making. See also Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 149-51.

Schools of Law tumbles like a pack of cards.' Instances are not rare in the history of scholarship, when a new discovery or invention destroys the cherished theories of ages. Thus, with the discovery of the Sârnâth Inscriptions of Kumâragupta II and the Dâmodarpur plates of Budhagupta, the whole accepted chronology of the Imperial Guptas tumbled like a house of cards.[42] Much capital, again, has been made out of the fact that the oldest (? hitherto known) treatises on metallurgy, attributed to Patañjali and Nâgârjuna, appear to be more primitive than the chapters on the same subject in the *Kauṭilîya*. Mercury, for instance, which Sir P. C. Ray could not trace any further back than the earliest Tantric texts in the fifth or the sixth century A.D.,[43] and which is only once mentioned in Charaka and the Bower MSS. (fourth century A.D.), is mentioned by Kauṭilya. But I should like to ask these scholars why they must refer every treatise, showing an imperfect knowledge of a subject, to an earlier period than one showing a more developed knowledge ? Is lack of developed knowledge always a test of antiquity ? Kâmandaka's *Nîtisâra*, the present *Śukranîti* and the *Bârhaspatya Arthaśâstra*, for instance, show an imperfect knowledge of statecraft in comparison with the *Kauṭilîya*. But is any scholar for that reason ready to refer the latter to a later date ? If they are not willing to follow such a course, why then should *Kauṭilîya* be alone referred to a later period than those treatises which show a more imperfect knowledge of metallurgy. Scantiness and imperfection are often the symptoms of decay and not of antiquity. These arguments can therefore never be conclusive.

The above discussion will show that the arguments advanced against the theory that the *Arthaśâstra* in its present form was a work of the Maurya period are far from convincing. I shall not, however, be surprised if somebody detects some interpolations in our present texts. But these interpolations must be very few and far between, and may perhaps be found confined to the *Bhâṣya* portion of the work. In a moist climate like that of India the MSS. require frequent recopying, and it is just possible, as Dr. Nâg suggests, that in the course of these frequent changes of materials, some slight alterations or interpolations have crept into this work. But this he has not demonstrated. Failing more substantial arguments, the conclusion of Dr. Shamasastry[44] that the *Arthaśâstra* represents the work of a writer of 300 B.C. is not to be lightly rejected.

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42 *The revised Chronology of the Gupta Emperors*, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar ; *Indian Antiquary*, 1913 ; *Dāmodarpur Plates*, edited by R. G. Basak ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, p 113 ff. ; *The Gupta Empire in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.*, by Hemchandra Raychowdhury. *JASB.* (New Series), Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 313–26.

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## WADDELL ON PHŒNICIAN ORIGINS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 197.)

### 8. Cup-Markings on Stone and Circles on Coins.

On this abstruse subject Waddell is even more original and startling than he has been hitherto in this book. The long title of this Chapter thereon is sufficient proof :—"Prehistoric cup-markings on circles, rocks, etc., in Britain; and circles on ancient Briton coins and monuments, as invocations to the Sun-god in Sumerian cipher script by early Phœnicians : disclosing decipherment and translation by identical cup-marks on Hitto-Sumerian seals and Trojan amulets with explanatory Sumerian script : and Hitto-Sumerian origin of god-names; Jahoveh or Jove, Indra, Indri, Thor of the Goths, St. Andrew; Earth-goddess Maia or May, the Three Fates, and English names of the numerals." Material enough here, one would think, for a whole book.

Starting with eight figures of cup-marked stones in Britain, Waddell gives eleven of cup-marks on Hitto-Sumerian amulet whorls from Troy, which he compares with ten figures on archaic Sumerian seals and amulets associated with a Sumerian seal dated B.C. 3000, showing "circles as diagnostic circle marks of Sumerian and Chaldee deities in the Trial of Adam, the Son of God Ia (Iahoveh or Jove or Indara)."

He then says that the early Sumerians wrote numbers as strokes (*e.g.*, | for 1, || for 2 and so on), which became circular holes when applied by a drill to stone : o—1, oo or 8 = 2, and so on. He found that " many of our numerals in English, and in the Assyrian languages generally, are also derived from the Sumerian names for these numbers, although the fact has not hitherto been noticed." We have already had his ideas on 'one' being equivalent to Sumerian *ana* and now he tells us that through " the occult values attached to certain numbers by the Sumerians," we are able to identify the Hitto-Sumerian god-names on the seals and tablets with the names of the leading Aryan gods of classic Greece and Rome, of the Indian *Vedas*, of the Gothic *Eddas*, and of the ancient Britons, as inscribed on their pre-Roman coins and monuments. So o = 1 or 10 = God as monad : oo = 2 or 20 = the Sun-god : ooo = 3 or 30 = the Moon or Moon-god, and so on up to nine figures and two special kinds of o. Waddell then launches into an explanation of the cup-marks in the light of the above observation and certain startling philological comparisons, which are not easy to follow.

He arrives in the course of his study at a remarkable philological conclusion :—" It will be seen, in scanning the key-list in the table, that the first or single circle or cup-mark, title for God, Ia or Jove, or the One God, has the value of A (*i.e.*, the Greek *Alpha* : whilst the title for Him is the large double o (*i.e.*, the Greek O-mega, a name now seen to be also derived from the Sumerian *makh*, great, and surviving in Scotch, 'muckle' or English 'much' and 'magnitude,'[13] etc. It thus appears that the early Sumerian and our own 'pagan' ancient Briton ancestors called the Father God Ia or Jove by the very same title as God in the Apocalypse, namely, 'Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last.'" In a footnote Waddell adds that " Ia is also Indara."

By the key-list Waddell reads the inscription on the stone about Adam already noticed, to mean " how Adam broke the wing of the stormy South-wind." He also read many other Hitto-Babylonian seals and found them to explain " the circles on ancient Briton coins and the cup-markings of pre-historic Britain," so that he could even read these last.

Waddell in the same way next reads " the archaic Morite table of about B.C. 400 " found at Smyrna, on which he asks us to " note the initial word-sign for 'tomb' in the picture of the ancient barrow of the Indo-Aryans with its finial called *thupa* or tope," *i.e.*, according to his reading : but surely the Buddhistic *stûpa* or 'tope' was a reliquary not a 'tomb.' The 'word-sign' is, however, remarkable, as under Waddell's reading of the tablet, it is to a princess or priestess of the Bel-fire cult, named Nina, who is significantly called therein an Ari, *i.e.*, Arya and Muru, *i.e.*, Mor or Amorite. It invokes Taś for the aid of resuscitating the underground Sun and the Word Cross." Finally he says :—" it is significant that a large proportion of the words of the Morite tablet of about B.C. 4000 are radically identical with those of modern English, thus the second and third 'good girl' occur literally in the Sumerian as '*kud gal*.'" This is truly an astonishing deduction, as, even granting that '*kud gal*' is a right transcription of the 'picture' writing, which I give here, both the translation into 'good girl' and the transcription rest on the single assertion of Waddell himself.





He next proceeds to " unlock the long lost meaning and racial authorship of . . . . the prehistoric cup-marking in the British Isles " by the same keys, and finds them " to be substantially identical with the Sumerian cup-marked solar amulets of Early Troy," and thus to be " Litanies for the resurrection of the dead by the Sun-Cross." He reads them to be invocations to the Archangel Taś, Ia or Jove = Indra. Their date he presumes to be that of the Stone Circles, B.C. 2800. He also shows a Briton coin inscribed 'Tascio' with

13 All this seems to mean that in Waddell's view Sumerian *makh* is the origin of the Greek, *megas*; Latin *magnus*; English, *much*; Scotch, *muckle*.

cup-marks. Thus "by new evidence . . . . the truth of the conjecture of a Phœnician origin . . . . hazarded by Prof. Nilsson of Sweden" is established and "positive and conclusive proof of the Aryan origin of the Sumerians, and of the Hitto-Phœnician origin of the Britons and Scots" is gained.

### 9. Sun-worship and Bel-fire rites and the Sun-cross.

Having arrived so far in this fashion, Waddell now further develops his argument by "disclosing the Phœnician origin of solar emblems on pre-Christian monuments in Britain and on pre-Roman coins, and also the same origin of the Deazil or Sun-wise direction for luck, etc., and of John the Baptist as an Aryan Sun-fire priest." He starts with six quotations, of which I select the following. From the *Sumerian Psalms* he quotes :—"In the right hand of the king, the shepherd of his country." On this he remarks that the word for shepherd is "*siba*, disclosing the Sumerian origin of the English word 'shepherd,'" though 'shepherd' is clearly 'sheep-herd': but perhaps he means that the English *sheep* = Sumerian *sib-a*. Then he goes on from the *Mahábhárata* :—"the able Panch [Phœnic-ian], the Chedi [Cetti or Catti] are all highly blest, and know the eternal religion—the eternal truth of religion and righteousness." It will be observed that this time we have Sanskrit name as Chedi not as Ceti : but can Chedi be equated with Catti? *Ch* with *k*?

Waddell is now fairly launched on an enquiry—partly ethnology, partly folklore, and partly philology—of a wide and bewildering character under his guidance. Its object is to "furnish additional proof that those elements of the higher civilisation and religion and their names were introduced into the British Isles by the Aryan Barat Catti or Brito-Phœnicians." They are therefore of prime importance to the present discussion.

Waddell begins by stating that "the former Sun-cult is attested by the turning of the face of the dead to the East in the Stone and Bronze Age tombs," and in the "Deazil or Sun-wise directions in masonic and cryptic rites and in the lucky way of passing wine at table." The Phœnicians were a highly religious people, and "in worshipping the One God of the Universe, whom they symbolised by his chief visible luminary the Sun," they cherished the monotheism "expressed in the Sun-worship and Bel-worship . . . . down the ages in the Mediterranean." It is also expressed in many other ways, notably "in one of the oldest Aryan hymns of the *Vedas*, in a stanza which is still repeated every morning by every Brahman in India, who chants it as a morning prayer at sunrise :—

> The Sun's uprising orb floods the air with brightness :
> The Sun's enlivening Lord sends forth all men to labour."

And then says Waddell :—"the Hitto-Sumerians usually called the Father-God Induru or Indara, the Indra of the Eastern Aryans and the Indri of the Goths," and to him most hymns and monuments are everywhere addressed. "This Aryan idea of the One Father-God symbolised by the Sun is the Aten-worship of Egypt," and so is Aken-aten's new art ". . . . which is seen to be patently Phœnician."

In the Newton Stone inscription the title for the Sun is Bel or Bil, which "is now disclosed to be derived from the Sumerian (*i.e.*, early Aryan) word for Fire, Flame or Blaze," to prove which statement Waddell has recourse to some wonderful etymology from Sumer to English. After which "we see the significance of the name St. Blaze for the taper-carrying saint introduced into early Christianity as patron of the immediate solar festival of Candlemas Day," and of "the Bel-fire or Beltane rites and games, which still survive in many parts of the British Isles . . . . the name Bel-tane or Bel-tine means literally Bel's fire." Waddell here has a reference, used later on by him, to the generation of the sacred fire for igniting fire-offerings to Bil or Bel "by the friction of two tender sticks, or fire drill, employed in Britain down to the middle ages and by the early Aryan Phœnicians."

He next proceeds to show that St. John the Baptist was made by Christian missionaries "the patron saint of the old pagan Bel-Fire festivities, who transferred them to the Eve of St. John's Day, the 24th June," celebrated all over Europe and by the Phœnician colonies. All this suggests that St. John, "who bears an Aryan-Gentile and non-Hebrew name, was himself an Aryan-Gentile and of the Fire-Cross cult." And then Waddell goes on to state that "his initiatory rite of baptism is wholly unknown in Judaism, whereas it is a part of the ancient ritual of the Sumerian and Aryan Vedic and Eddic Gothic Sun-cults." And this theory he supports with more remarkable philology. In the same way he supports another statement that the temple at Jerusalem was "a famous ancient Sun-God temple of the Hittites and Amorites connected with the Sun-God Nin-ib, otherwise styled Taś, *i.e.*, the Hitto-Sumerian archangel of God and the Tascio of the Briton coins and monuments."

Waddell has next some remarkable passages on "the Cross-sceptre or staff traditionally carried by John the Baptist as a special emblem of the Sun-God Ninib of Jerusalem. As the Son of God, that Sun-God is given in Sumerian the synonym of the God of the Cross + wherein that Cross in the form of St. George's Red Cross is defined as 'Wood-Sceptre' and also as 'Fire' and 'Fire-God' under the name 'Bar or Mas' (*i.e.*, the English bar or mace)." So that "take up his Cross and follow me," is a reference to the fiery Red Cross sceptre and symbol of the Sun-cult . . . . and is not an anticipation of the crucifix." These reflections lead Waddell to suggestions as to the Christ himself, which are, to say the least, startling; and of "the wise men of the East," the Magi, he says :—"this name is obviously derived from the Sumerian Maś, as bearers of the Maś or + Cross," which, he says, is an entirely new, and I may add isolated, derivation. Waddell has several more novel derivations for names in the New Testament.

Then he returns to the Bel-Fire, winding up with the remark that "altogether the Phœnician origin and introduction of the Bel-Fire into Britain, as part of the old Sun-worship, thus appears to be cleared and established." And after some remarks that Deasil or Dessil, "the right-handed way of the Scots, who called the opposite Wideosins or contrary to the Sun, which is considered unlucky" was "inculcated in the old Aryan Vedic hymns and epics . . . . as the right way, or right-handed way, pra-daxina [dakshina]." Waddell passes on to the solar symbols on British coins." These he finds are used in the same conventional ways as on Sumerian and Phœnician seals. One observation he makes here is, at least a little confused: "the interchangeability of the Sun's vehicles seen on the British coins, etc., as Horse (Asvin), Deer (or Goat), Goose and Hawk or Falcon, is voiced in the *Vedas* and often in dual form :—

O Asvin [horse], like a pair of deer,
Fly hither, like geese, unto the mead we offer.
With the fleetness of the falcon."

Here it seems to me that the Vedic composer only asks the Asvin to fly like a deer or goose or falcon. He does not identify these creatures with the Asvin.

Waddell next discusses "the Sun-Cross of the Hitto-Phœnicians as the origin of the Christian Cross on Briton coins and monuments, and of the Celtic and Tree Cross in Christianity, disclosing the Catti, Hittite, or Gothic origin of the Celtic or Runic Cross, the Red Cross of St. George, the Swastika and the 'Spectacles'; the introduction of the Cross into Christianity by the Goths; and ancient Brito-Gothic hymns to the Sun." We find him here as energetic and discursive as ever in the discussion. "The name 'Cross' is now discovered to be derived from the Sumerian (*i.e.*, early Phœnician) word *garza*, which is defined as 'sceptre or staff of the Sun-God,' and also 'sceptre of the King. Its word-sign is pictured by the two-barred cross or battle-axe (*khat*, the root of Khat-ti or Hittite) . . . . The Sun-Cross, engraved by the Phœnician Cassi, King of the Scots, on his votive pillar at Newton to the Sun-god Bil . . . . was substituted in Christianity by the Goths for the crucifix

of Christ, which crucifix was of quite a different shape from the True Cross or Sun-Cross, now used in modern Christianity . . . . The earliest form of the True Cross . . . . was, I find, the shape +, wherein the arms are of equal length." And then we come to some more of Waddell's Etymology :—" It was called *pîr*, with the meaning of fire, thus disclosing the Sumerian origin of the English words *fire* and *pyre* ; Gothic, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and old English *fyr, fire* ; and Greek *pyr*." It was " a simple symbol of divine victory and not a crucifix . . . . , but usually coloured red, its original colour as the red or fiery cross." Its origin " I find was the crossing of the twin tinder sticks, as producing by friction the sacred fire. See the *Ṛig-Veda* :—

The Bharats—Srava the divine and Vâta the divine—
Have dexterously rubbed to life effectual fire.
O God of Fire, look forth with brimming riches,
Bear in each day our daily bread."

Waddell then observes that the Hitto-Sumerian and Phœnician conventional variations (giving a large number on two pages of illustration) of the Cross were identical with those on pre-Christian and pre-Roman coins of ancient Briton. The Swastika he takes to be " the simple St. George's Cross " with free ends added to a bent foot pointing in the direction of the Sun's apparent movement across the heavens, *i.e.*, " towards the right hand." The Celtic Cross, " supposed to have been invented by the Celts," he traces back to Sumerian times, when " the simple equal-limbed cross was sometimes figured inside the circle as the Sun's disc, and sometimes intermediate rays were added between the arms to form a halo of glory."

Waddell then examines the relation of the " True Cross in Christianity " to these pre-Christian crosses. The Crucifix of Christ is " figured in early Christianity as the shape of a T, the so-called St. Anthony's Cross ", which " occurs extremely rarely . . . . because the crucifix was not a recognised Christian symbol of the early Christians, . . . . The Cross does not appear as a Christian emblem before A.D., 451." And then it was " not a substitute for the Crucifix," but " a sceptre and symbol of divine victory, as it was in the Sun-cult." Christ on the Cross does not appear until the tenth century A.D., and then as a transference from the old Aryan Sun-Cross of victory. This was the contribution of the Goths to Christianity, " as a vestige of the ancient Red Cross of the Catti or Xatti or Scot Sun-worshippers," which quotation from Waddell contains an etymology of the term 'Scot' characteristic of him.

The Red Cross of St. George sets Waddell on to that Saint, and he finds his original in " Bel the Geur, the Dragon-slayer and protector of the Hittite Cappadocia." This clue discovers " the associated Crosses in the Union Jack . . . . of St. Andrew and St. Patrick . . . . as forms of the same Sun-Cross." The " *gyron* cross of British Heraldry is the *gurin* cross of the Hittites . . . . which *seems* to be a form of the Hindu Swastika . . . . found on early British monuments . . . . It bears the synonym of *baru* or fruit, *i.e., berry*, and thus discloses the Hitto-Sumer origin of the English word *berry*." And then Waddell has some more wonderful etymology thus :—" the details of the Catti or Hittite seal of about B.C. 2000 are seen to be substantially identical with those of the old pre-Christian Cross at Cadzow (or Cads-cu, the *koi* or town of the Cad or Phœnician), the modern Hamil-ton, an old town of the Briton kingdom of Strath-Clyde, in the province of the Gad-eni, the Brito-Phœnician Gad or Cad or Catti." Both the Briton and the Hittite crosses, he says, have a figure of Tasia, the archangel, above the Swastika, of which the symbol known as " the Spectacles " is a decorated example, having its origin in the Catti or Hitto-Sumerian Solar worship. The ancient True Cross was of wood, and " the modern popular superstition 'to touch wood' in order to avert ill-luck is clearly a survival of the ancient Sun-worship of the wooden Cross."

(*To be continued.*)

## A VERSION OF HIR AND RANJHA.

BY ASA SINGH OF MAGHIANA, JHANG DISTRICT, PUNJAB
RECORDED BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(*Continued from page* 179.)

*Dâl.*

Dekh-ke rûp Rânjhetre dâ
Âp us-dî Hîr tamâm hûî :
Rânjhe âkhiâ : " peâ-he palang Hîre ? "
Uṭh-chaliâ : " Sâ-dî salâm hûî "
Hîr kahiâ : " kiûn ruṭhke uṭh turyoṅ ? "
" Sâtoṅ das, kî sakht kalâm hûî ? "
Singhâ ! Hîr Ranjhete nûṅ kah-chukî :
Sane khesh kabîle ghulâm hûî.

*Translation.*

When she saw the beauty of Ranjhetrâ.
It was all over with Hîr.
Rânjhâ said : " Am I lying on Hîr's bed ? "
He rose saying : " I make my salâm."
Hîr said : " Why are you displeased, that you get up to go ?
Tell me what harsh word has been used."
[Says] Âsâ Singh ! Hîr finished speaking to Ranjhetâ :
The message of love had enslaved her.

*Zâl.*

Zikr kardâ Rânjhâ Hîr age :
" Authî prît pâlan ; sunchâl Hîre,
Jadân 'ishq de mu'âmila sire âsan,
Jadân prît na sagegî pâl, Hîre.
Tusâṅ haur de nâl vivâh karnâ
Sadî karegâ kaun samâl Hîre."
Rânjhâ kahiâ je :—ṭhag-ke mârnâî."
Tadâṅ hunî chhad khiyâl Hîre.

*Translation.*

Then said Rânjhâ in Hîr's presence :
" Love is hard to bear ; listen Hîr,
When an affair of passion possesses one,
Then, Hîr, love cannot be endured.
You will marry with another,
Then who will look after me."
Rânjhâ spoke :—" I shall die from the deceit "
Then he immediately ceased to regard Hîr.

*Re*

" Ranjhiâ tud-di ho-chukî.
Je maiṅ Chûchake dhî Syâl Jatti.
Kasam Pîr faqîr dî khâ kîte :
Dil joṛ litâ Jatt nâl Jaṭṭî "
Hik makar fareb banâ kîte :
Rânjhâ kar-le turî charwâl Jattî.
Âsâ Singh ! Kah nâl le Rânjhe-nûṅ ;
Kare bâp de age suwâl Jaṭṭî

*Translation.*

" Rânjhâ, your affair is finished.
I am a Syâl Jaṭṭî, daughter of Chûchak.
Who has taken an oath on his Pîr
That a Jaṭṭ must be united to a Jaṭṭî."
Then she made a trick and deception :
The Jaṭṭî made Rânjhâ become a herdsman.
[Says] Âsâ Singh ! She took Rânjhâ with her
And went to beg of her father. [5]

*Ze.*

Zârîân karke Hîr jitî,
Age bâp de kare e bât, Miân :—
Âkhe : " Châk rakho in-nûṅ, bâblâwe,
Jehṛe nît paunde dineṅ rât, Mîâṅ."
Bâp Hîr tuṅ puchiâ : " Kaun hondâ ? "
Kahendâ : " Nâṅ Dhîdo, Rânjhâ zât, Mîâṅ."
Singhâ ! Chûchak Syâl ne châk rakhiâ
Hîr nâl jain-dî mulâkât, Miân.

*Translation.*

Hîr wept greatly before her father,
And said these words to him :—
" Take him into your service, daddy,
He will always be there day and night."
Her father asked of Hîr : " Who is he ? "
She said :—" His name is Dhîdo by caste a Rânjhâ."
[Says Âsâ] Singh ! Chûchak the Syâl engaged the man,
Who was in love with Hîr.

*Sîn.*

Sârîyân majhîyâṅ hak turiâ
Sache Rabb dâ nâm samâl Rânjhâ.
Wâr wâr kulârke kah Chûchak :—
' Rakhe Mangû de vich khiyâl, Rânjhâ;
Bele vich musîbatâṅ bhâriânî.
Ralâ-kare kise de nâl, Rânjhâ."
Âsâ Singhâ ! Majhîn bele le-vaṛyâ
Hoiâ dhup de nâl be-hâl Rânjhâ.

*Translation.*

In the true God's name Rânjhâ
Drove out all the buffaloes.
Again and again Chûchak charged him .
" Look out carefully in Mangû, Rânjhâ :
In the island there are many accidents.
Let them not get mixed up with any others, Rânjhâ."
[Says] Âsâ Singh : Rânjhâ drove out the buffaloes,
And became senseless from the heat.

[5] That he would engage him as his herdsman.

*Shîn.*

Shauq se tîṅ, Mîâṅ, Rânjhne nûṅ
Chûrî den chalî Jaṭṭî Hîr, Mîâṅ :
Bele vich Rânjhe mahiṅ chârde nûṅ,
Dûroṅ razar âyâ Panj-Pîr, Mîâṅ.
Chûrî Hîr thîṅ leke nazar dhardâ
Nâle majh bhûrî sandâ shîr, Mîâṅ.
Singhâ ! Hîr bakhshî Pîrân Rânjhne-nûṅ :
Pîr vidâ hoe deke dhîr Mîâṅ.

*Translation.*

From love for Rânjhâ
Hîr, the Jaṭṭî, went out to take him his food.
While he grazed the buffaloes in the island,
The Five Pîrs appeared to Rânjhâ from afar :
As he received his food from Hîr.
Among the grey buffaloes.
[Says Asâ] Singh : the Pîrs gave Hîr to Rânjhâ,
And disappeared having given him courage.

*Swad.*

Ṣâf ḍiṭhâ Kaido Hîr jândî :
Chûrî legâî nâl tatbîr haisî,
Chanâ rakh Ranjhete de pâs Jaṭṭî.
Nadîoṅ len-gâî ṭhanḍâ nîr haisî ;
Pichhon Rânjhne-thuṅ chûrî mang-litî.
Kaido banke âyâ faqîr haisî.
Âî Hîr Rânjhâ kîtî galh, Singhâ !
Kaido magar bhaunî Jaṭṭî Hîr haisî.

*Translation.*

Kaido saw clearly Hîr going [to Rânjhâ]
And the artifice with which she took the food,
And left it with Rânjhâ.
He took some cold water from the river,
And then went to Rânjhâ and asked for some food.
Kaido came disguised as a beggar
Hîr came and talked to Rânjhâ, [says Âsâ] Singh.
And behind Hîr, the Jaṭṭî, came Kaido.

*Zwad.*

Ẓarb lâî Jaṭṭî Hîr ḍâḍhî :
Mâr Kaido nûṅ hâloṅ be-hâl kîtâ.
Kaido mel chûrî âyâ pâs Chûchak,
Ân Hîr dâ kull hawâl kîtâ.
Sunke Hîr dîgall hariân hoiâ ;
Ghusse nâl Chûchak rang lâl kîtâ.
Singhâ ! Châr mahîṅ Rânjhâ shahr âyâ,
Chûchak ghar-thîṅ dûr charwâl kîtâ.

*Translation.*

Hîr, the Jaṭṭî, struck Kaido
And beat him severely.
Kaido took the food and came to Chûchak,
And told him all his tale regarding Hîr.
Hearing about Hîr Chûchak was distressed
And his colour became red with rage.
[Says Asâ] Singh : When Rânjhâ came back to the village driving the buffaloes,
Chûchak turned his herdsman out of the house.

*Ṭoe.*

Ṭaur phiryâ tadoṅ Chûchake dâ,
Jadâṅ bhaiyâṅ ne kitâ tang, lokoṅ.
Baiṭh Hîr de vihâh dî gal karde.
Nâle sochde mand-theṅ chang, lokoṅ.
Sunke Kheriâṅ-ne bhej nâî dittâ ;
Kahiâ : " Saide sang karnâṅ je ang, lokoṅ ?
Singha ! Hîr sang Saide mangâî Chûchak.
Hoyâ Rânjhne da zarad rang, lokoṅ.

*Translation.*

Then Chûchak's intentions changed,
When the brotherhood pressed him hard, good people.
He set to work to make a marriage for Hîr.
Much he thought in sadness, good people !
On hearing this the Kherîs sent a barber
And said : " Do you wish to make a betrothal with Saidâ ? "
[Says Âsâ] Singh : Chûchak betrothed Hîr to Saidâ,
And Rânjhâ's colour became yellow, good people !

*Ẓoe.*

Ẓulm kîtâ bâp Hîr de ne
Dittî Saide-nuṅ Hîr vihâh, lokoṅ.
Rattî vas nachale Ranjhetre dâ :
Dineṅ rât bhardâ ṭhaṇḍe sâh, lokoṅ.
Hîr Kheṛîyâṅ dî ḍolî nâha chaṛdî.
Ate marandâ rakhdî châh, lokoṅ.
Mahîṅ wâste Chûchake minnat kîtî :
Rânjhâ chaliâ ho hamrâh, lokoṅ.

*Translation.*

With great harshness Hîr's father
Gave her in marriage to Saidâ.
Rânjhâ's blood would not flow in his veins :
Day and night he heaved cold sighs.
Hîr refused to mount the Kherîs' palanquin
And wished to die, good people.
She begged Chûchak for a month's grace,
Rânjhâ went along with her, good people.

*'Ain.*

'Ishq dâ mâryâ, Miâṅ Rânjhâ
Rahûṅ khâ ghussa âyâ chal pichhâṅ.
Bibi Hîr de pyâr dukhyâr hoke
'Ashiq âṅ baiṭhâ jâl-mal pichhâṅ.
Jaṭṭî Hîr dâlgîr jâṅ zikr sunyâ :—
" Rânjhâ ândâ ândâ giyâ val pichhâṅ ;
Singhâ ! Hîr likhyâ :—" Jogî bane âweṅ."
Dittâ khatt kâshid hathgal pichhân.

*Translation.*

Afflicted with love, Miâṅ Rânjhâ
Followed after in a passionate rage.
Distressed by love for the Lady Hîr,
The lover came and sat behind a *jâl* tree.
Hîr, the Jaṭṭî, heard of his distress :—
" Rânjhâ is coming after us."
[Says Âsâ] Singh : Hîr wrote : " Pretend to be a *jogî*."
And gave her letter to a messenger to take back to him.

*Ghain.*

Gham-haṭyâ jadoṅ khatt milyâ,
Jogî bannan dî kare tatbîr Rânjhâ.
Gorakhnâth de tile-theṅ jâ-phauthâ,
Aukhe jhâg bele jangal chîr Rânjhâ.
Nâth dâr-ma-dar tâṅ bahut kîtâ.
Aipar pakkâ hoyâ dâmangîr Rânjhâ.
Singhâ ! Hîr de khatt theṅ 'amal karke,
Âkhir-kâr ho-giyâ faqîr Rânjhâ.

*Translation.*

When Rânjhâ grief-harassed received the letter,
He arranged to disguise himself as a *jogî*,
And reached the shrine of Gorakhnâth.
With great trouble he cut through the jungle,
[Gorakh]nâth then made a thorough arrangement for him,
And Rânjhâ became his true devotee.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : acting on Hîr's letter,
At last Rânjhâ became a *faqîr*.

*Fe.*

Fer turyâ ṭaraf Kheriyâṅ dî :
Raste milyâ ek aiyâl, dâdhâ.
Le shakl pahchânus Rânjhne dî .
Lage puchne hâl-hawâl, ḍâḍhâ.
Jhagaṛ-jheṛ pichhoṅ Rânjhe âkh-dittâ :—
" Mainyâṅ hâṅ Rânjhâ prît-pâl, ḍâdhâ."
Singhâ ! Pallâ chhuṛâ aiyâl kolûṅ ;
Rangpur pohutthâ shaunq nâl, ḍâḍhâ.

*Translation.*

Then he turned again towards the Kherîs ;
And on the way he met a shepherd,
Who recognised Rânjhâ's appearance without doubt,
And began to ask his news.
After some parley Rânjhâ told him :—
" I am that Rânjhâ greatly afflicted by love."
[Says Âsâ] Singh : at last he got rid of the shepherd,
And reaching Rangpur, was mad with desire.

*Kâf* (1).

Kaî kuâṅrîân bharan pânî ;
Aiṅyân khuh heteṅ shahr jo vasdianî.
Sohnâ vekhke mast-almast jogî,
Mâr sainîâṅ sârîâṅ hasdîanî.
Rânjhâ khair dî wâste shahr turyâ ;
Woh bhî châ ghare kadam kasdîanî.
Singhâ ! " Nawâ jogî sâdî des âyâ."
Vanj Hîr Syâl nuṅ dasdîanî.

*Translation.*

Some girls were drawing water.
They dwelt by the well below the village :
They saw a handsome, crazy *jogî*.
All the girls laughed at him.
Rânjhâ went to the village to beg for alms ;
And they went with him carrying their waterpots.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : They said : " A new *jogî* has come to our country."
And they went and told Hîr, the Syâl.

*Kâf* (2).

Kiyâ " alakh ! alakh ! " Rânjhe
Pahle vich vehṛe pind Kheṛiyâṅ de.
Ḍarî Jaṭṭ dî gâṅ theṅ dudh dulyâ.
Jaṭṭî khaṛik larî nâl jheṛiyâṅ de :—
" Nâṅ Khair dâ, " ten dhunḍe Hîr taîṅ :
Jhâtî paundâ phire vich vehṛiyâṅ de.
Singhâ ! Rânjhe ne vanj bandâr vichoṅ
Kaḍhyâ Sahtî nuṅ nâl bakheṛiyâṅ de.

*Translation.*

Crying " *âlakh, âlakh,*" Rânjhâ
First went into the court-yards of the Kheris' village
And milked the cow of Ḍarî, the Jatt.
The Jaṭṭî [his wife] drove him out with abuse.
[Saying] : " In the name of God ", he searched for Hîr
And wandered round peeping into the yards.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : Rânjhâ by a trick
Got Sahtî to come out of the yard

*Gâf.*

Gaî charkhâ châ gharîṅ Sahtî ;
Magaruṅ Rânjhnâ bue te â-khalâ,
Vekh Hîr nuṅ : " Alakh " jagâyasû,
Nâl Sahtî de morchâ lâ-khalâ.
(Sahtî muthâ chînâ, Rânjhâ lave nâhin).
Kar Hîr de milan dî châk khalâ.
Singhâ ! Sahtî theṅ golî dî nishâ kîtâ :
Âp moliyâṅ dî mâr khâ-khalâ.

*Translation.*

Sahtî took her spinning wheel into the house.
And Rânjhâ followed her and stood at the door
Seeing Hîr he cried loudly " *Âlakh* " :
And while he stood wrangling with Sahtî
(For Sahtî was pounding *chîna*, Rânjhâ did not take it).
He stood there arranging how to meet Hîr.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : He gave Sahtî a stupefying drug in a pill
And she herself pounded it with the pestle and ate it.[6]

*Lâm* (1).

Leâî Hîr pahchân Rânjhâ,
Baiṭh puchhdî, vâng nimâṇîyâṅ de :—
" Khabar yâr dî das kaî. Mîân Jogî."
Galâṅ kardî nâl bahâniyân-de.
Rânjhâ bâgh nuṅ giya. ta Hîr pichhe.
Mel hoenî dard Rânjhâniyâṅ de.
Singhâ ! Milke Hîr jân ghareṅ âî ;
Sahtî jân kaḍhe nâl ta'aniyâṅ de.

*Translation.*

Hîr recognized Rânjhâ
And sitting down, as it were asked his news :—
" Tell me, Mîân Jogî, some news of my lover,"
Says she speaking with craft.
Rânjhâ went to the garden and Hîr after him,
And there they met, and Rânjhâ's grief left him.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : Then Hîr came back to the house,
And Sahtî drove her out with her scorn.

*Mîm.*

Mihr setîṅ Hîr sang Sahtî :
Dilûṅ nâl salâḥ nigâh kardî :—
" Tain-nuṅ mile Baloch te assâṅ Rânjhâ."
Sahtî yâr de milan dî châh kardî.
" Aj Hîr nuṅ khet legâniyâṅ maiṅ."
Sahtî mâ age gal jâ kardî.
Singhâ ! Makar dâ Hîr nuṅ sapp laryâ.
Sahtî sabb sahelî gawâh kardî.

[6] The whole scene illustrates the Chiniot proverb :—" *khair pâs, nî, vehṛâ dîyân rannân.*" He says to the women in the yard " give me alms, my dear." This proverb refers to the impudence of begging *jogîs* or *faqîrs*, who enter courtyards (*vehṛâ*) and address the women in them as *nî* (dear, darling) a term used only by a husband to his wife. Sahtî was Hîr's *nannan* or husband's sister (sister-in-law).

*Translation.*

Sahti and Hîr had been friends
And with hearty advice she regarded her (and said) :—
" Let the Baloch meet you and Rânjhâ me."
For Sahtî had a lover to meet,
" To-day I am taking Hîr away to the fields : "
So (Rânjhâ) said to Sahtî :
[Says Âsâ] Singh : The snake of treachery bit Hîr.
Sahtî made all her companions witnesses to what was said.

*Nûn.*

Nâl zârî Ajjû bâp taiṅ
Sahtî âkhdî : " Phâh kahâ, sâîṅ :
Jaṭṭî Hîr nuṅ laṛyâ râng zâlim.
Le mândrî kull bulâ, sâîṅ.
Kâle Bâgh andar baiṭhâ ek jogî."
Sahtî âkhyâ : " Sad le â, sâîn."
Singhâ ! Saide de kahe na mûl âyâ.
Ajjû leaundâ Pîr manâ, sâîn.

*Translation.*

With lamentation Sahtî says to her father Ajjû :
" Set a snare, my lord,
A wicked snake has bitten the Jaṭṭî Hîr !
Send and call all the soothsayers :
There is a *jogî* staying in the Kâla Bâgh."
Said Sahtî : " Call him here, sir."
Says Asâ Singh ; At Saidâ's word he would not come at all.
Ajjû sent and brought the saint.

*Vâw.*

Vekhke Hîr dâ hâl jogî
Kahndâ : " Karâṅ changî mantr mâr jab de."
Sahtî Hîr faqîr nuṅ laî khere ;
Kothî vich pâwan bahar vâr jab de
Sone Pîr sore teṅ Murâd âyâ ;
āpo-âp le turenî yâr jab de.
Singhâ ! Khabar hoî dinî Kheriyâṅ nuṅ,
Mile jâh Murâd sawâr jab de.

*Translation.*

Seeing Hîr's condition, the *jogî*
Said :—" I will recite an excellent charm for a snake at once."
Sahtî and Hîr brought him to the *kheṛâ* ;
But just as [Rânjhâ] was entering the house
Murâd, the horseman, came from Sonâ Pîr,
And himself took the lover away.
Says Âsâ Singhâ : " In the morning the Kherîs had the news
That Murâd, the horseman, had met him [Rânjhâ].

*He.*

Hâr sawâr Murâd koloṅ
Mile sutte Ranjhete nûṅ â, Mîâṅ.
Hîr kho-laê turt Rânjhne thûṅ ;
Kîtâ mâr faqîr fanâ, Mîâṅ.
Âkhiâ Hîr : " Jâ kûk tûṅ pâs adalî "
Rânjhâ kûkyâî uthe jâ, Mîâṅ.
Singhâ ! Rânjhne dî sunî kûk Râje ;
Khere laînî zabt karâ, Mîân !

*Translation.*

By violence the horsemen with Murâd,
Came upon Rânjhâ while he slept.
They quickly dragged Hîr away from Rânjhâ
And beat the *faqîr* [Rânjhâ].
Hîr said : " Go thou and cry for justice to the judge."
Rânjhâ went and raised his cry.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : The Râjâ listened to Rânjhâ's cry,
And seized the property of the Kherîs.

*Lâm* (2).

Lâ jehṛâ legiyâ Hîr Kheṛâ,
Nâl khushî de watan-nuṅ phir chaṛiâ.
Rânjhe Hîr bad-du'â dittî ;
Lagî ag, te 'Adal dâ shahr sariâ.
Râja samajhâ be-inṣâf hoiâ
Khushî jâûndâ Khere-nûṅ phir phaṛîâ.
Singhâ ! Hîr milî phir Rânjhne nûṅ
Leke Jhang-Syâle nûṅ ân-vaṛiâ.

*Translation.*

When the Kherîs took Hîr away
With joy to their own country,
Rânjhâ and Hîr cursed them
And the village of 'Adal caught fire and was burnt.
The Râjâ understood that there had been injustice,
And gladly went and seized Kherâ again.
[Says Âsâ] Singh ! Rânjhâ received Hîr again,
And taking her entered into Jhang Syâlâ.

*Alif* (3).

Âkhiâ Hîr de mâ-peân ne :
" Leâwî Rânjhiâ janjh banâ-karke."
Khushî nâl Rânjhâ rawân watan hoiâ,
Pohutthâ apnâ ves vatâ-karke.
Pichhe Hîr de mâ-peân matâ kîtâ ;
Hîr mârie zahr khawâ-karke.
Singhâ ! Hîr-nûṅ mâ-peâṅ zahr dittî,
Kîtî gor andar dâkhil jâ-karke.

*Translation.*

Then Hîr's parents said :—
" Let Rânjhâ bring the marriage procession."
With joy Rânjhâ departed to his own land
And arrived there, having changed his clothing.
Then Hîr's parents conspired,
And killed Hîr by giving her poison.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : Her father and mother poisoned Hîr
And put her into her grave.

*Ye.*

Yâd kar Hîr de mâ-peân ne
Kîtâ Rânjhe val kâshid taiyâr jab de.
Pohutthâ Takht-Hazâre de vich kâshid
Miliâ Rânjhne-nûn âhîn mâr jab de.
Kâshid âkhiâ : " Mar-gâî Hîr terî."
Rânjhâ rowan lagâ zâr-o-zâr, jab de.
Rânjhâ Hîr de gham vich faut hoiâ.
Âsâ Singh ! Mile doeṅ yâr jab de.

*Translation.*

Then Hîr's parents remembered,
And again sent a message to Rânjhâ.
The messenger arrived at Takht Hazâra.
And met Rânjhâ uttering sighs.
The messenger said : " Thy Hîr is dead."
Rânjhâ began to weep and lament,
Rânjhâ died of grief for Hîr.
And then, [says] Âsâ Singh : the two lovers met at last.

*Alif* (4).

Unnîh sai ik-tâlîâ san haisî.
Assû mâṅh nâwîn Somwâr, jâno.
Qissa Hîr te Ranjhe dî dostî dâ
Kitâ shauṅq de nâl taiyâr, jâno.
Zilhâ Jhang, Maghiânâ men ghar merâ.
Sadar Karâṅ halwâî dâ kaî, jâno.
Howe harî kam-besh, ta mu'âf karnâṅ
Âsâ Singh Hindî wâkif-kâr, jâno.

*Translation.*

This is the year nineteen hundred and forty one.[7]
Know that it is Monday, the ninth of the month Asauj.
Know that with pleasure I have compiled
This story of the love of Hîr and Rânjhâ.
My home is at Maghiânâ in the District of Jhang.
Know that I keep a *halwâî's* shop in the Sadar Bâzâr (of Jhang).
If there is a letter too much or too little forgive it
And know that Âsâ Singh is skilled in the Hindî tongue (*i.e.*, Panjâbî).

[7] That is, Samvat 1941 or A.D. 1884

## MISCELLANEA.

### THE CATAMARAN IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In Mr. J. J. Cotton's paper on George Chinnery, the Artist, who flourished between 1774 and 1852, in Vol. VI, *Proceedings of Meetings*, Indian Historical Records Commission, India, January, 1924, there is an account of a little book entitled 'Views of Madras' which was published in 1807. To this Chinnery contributed six plates. Plate IV represents the "Cattamaran," used as a sea boat off Madras, and to it is attached a quaint and accurate account of them.

"The Cattamaran is a raft composed usually of three, but sometimes of four, logs of wood, which are fastened together with ropes made from the cocoa-nut tree. These are cut to a point at one end, whilst the other is left broad and flat. The opposing surfaces at the junction of the sides of the wood are made smooth, but the upper and under parts of the raft are rounded off. They are paddled along by the Natives, and by their means communication can be held with the ships in the roads, much quicker than by the Masoolah Boat, and in weather when the latter could not venture through the surf. They are managed with great ease, and if the men are washed off by the surf they readily regain their station on the raft. On these rafts all species of goods can be conveyed on ship-board, that will not be damaged by salt water, and when several Cattamarans are joined together, the heaviest Cannon are transported by them to and from the ships as well as shot, anchors, and many kinds of Military stores."

**Note by Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.**

In December 1874, I was a Lieutenant in the Royal Scots Fusiliers, stationed in Fort St. George, Madras. I went on board the mail boat going to Calcutta to see a friend. The weather was doubtful and the sea very rough. I spent about an hour with my friend in the saloon, and on going on deck I found the cyclone signals flying on shore and every Masoolah boat gone. The ship itself was making ready to go to sea, but a Catamaran or so still hung about it, looking for letters. To one of the men keeping them I gave a letter to my Commanding Officer explaining the situation. It reached him quite safely through an awful surf. I did not see Madras again for several days, as the mail boat went right out to sea.

## BOOK-NOTICE.

SIVATATVARATNAKARA, by BASAVA RAJA OF KELADI. Published for the first time by Messrs. B. M. Nath and Co., Vepery, Madras.

This is an encyclopædic work in Sanskrit containing about 108 *Tarangas* or chapters in 9 books or *Kallalas*, and contains in all a total of about 13,000 *slokas* or verses. According to the colophon of the work, it was composed in the year A.D. 709-10 by the Lingayat prince Basava of Ikkeri. This work was hardly known before, and is one of those brought prominently to light by the work of the search Party of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library which made an attempted publication possible. It is a work of great magnitude, dealing with all branches of learning much affected at the time. Though there is not much that is original it still gives one an idea of the prevalent state of culture in South India and the departments of it that came in for cultivation at the time. It is a work of some considerable importance historically, as the chapters in it which may be regarded as historical, throw a very considerable light upon a comparatively dark period of South Indian history. As a work of Sanskrit literature, which belongs to an age of decadence when artificiality in composition reigned supreme, the book is of great use to the student of culture especially and is quite worthy of publication. Two passages from this work were incorporated in the "Sources of Vijayanagar History", published by the Madras University. Those passages will give an idea of the character of the work and the historical matter that can be gleaned from them.

Messrs. B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras, have shown commendable enterprise in undertaking publication of the work through the co-operation of a number of scholars, who all of them deserve the thanks of the public. Having regard to the size of the book and the expenses involved in this publication, the enterprise needs public support to be carried to completion. We hope that that support will be given in adequate measure, to enable the enterprising publishers and those scholars that agreed to co-operate with them to carry the enterprise through without a hitch.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### HOBSON-JOBSON.

"People in England have no conception of the overwhelming religious antagonism which this festival [Muharram] can arouse, and are not much assisted to a better understanding by the London Press. One of the leading newspapers in 1923 informed its readers that the Bakri Id was a festival in honour of 'Bakri, a writer of devotional verse.' A few weeks later an illustrated daily paper referred to the Muharram as 'the Muhrami, a festival in honour of Hobson-Jobson, the grandson of the Prophet:" Edwardes, *Crime in India*, p. 12. It is quite clear that the creation of "Hobson-Jobsons" is an art still very much alive.

R. C. TEMPLE.

# TIRILINGA AND KULINGAH.

BY G. RAMADAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

IN the Purle plates of Indravarma, son of Danârṇava[1], the donee is said to have been a native of Tiriliṅga, and he was made to settle in Kalinga by the gift of a piece of land in the village of Bukkur in Kuraka-râshtra. The modern word Telugu appears to have come from Tiriliṅga.

The existence of the country called Tiriliṅga has not till now been supported by any ancient document, and philologists have had to speculate on the origin of the name Telugu. Some argue that Triliṅga has been coined to justify the origin of the language, while Sanskrit scholars contend that Telugu is derived from Triliṅga. Historians who have secured documentary evidence for Tri-kalinga, venture to derive the word from it. Since there exists a charter which proves that there was once a country called Tiriliṅga, it is desirable to study its history and to determine where it existed.

The document, in which Tiriliṅga is mentioned, is dated in the year 149 of the Kalinga era. It has been shown in the 'Chronology of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga'[2] that they reckoned their years from A.D. 349. The date of the grant is therefore A.D. 498. This clearly proves that Tiriliṅga was in existence in the fifth century of the Christian era.

Ptolemy, a navigator of the second century, gave the latitude and longitude of a place he called Trilingan, and Yule and others, led by that information, located it in Arakan and identified it with Tripura. But as it cannot be known from what place the Egyptian navigator started his measurements, much reliance cannot be placed on what he has said.

Though none of the other *Purâṇas* mention this place, the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* alone gives some mythical account of it, which appears to be later interpolation. I shall have to speak of this again.

In the long list of countries, said to have been invaded by Samudragupta, the name of Tiriliṅga is not found. But this cannot be assumed to disprove the existence of the country. Possibly the chief centre of administration, as in the case of other kingdoms, may have been mentioned in the list and may not have been identified by us with Tiriliṅga. It may also be that the region known as Tiriliṅga formed part of the kingdom under a ruler mentioned in the Allahabad Paśasti. But indirectly it can be proved that the region existed in the time of the great Gupta invader.

The Siddhantam plates[3], dated in 193rd year of the Kalinga era (A.D. 542), mention Erandapalle, a country said to have been subdued by Samudragupta. Since the Purle grant of Indravarma is earlier by only 44 years, it may be presumed that Tiriliṅga and Erandapalle were co-existing. Whether the region existed prior to the fourth century is not apparent, as there are no records to support it.

Documents indicating that Tiriliṅga was in existence after the fifth century cannot be found; but there are nevertheless indirect proofs for it. The Telugu language is found in *Samvatsarambulu,* a word used in the Chikulla plates of Vikramendravarma II[4]. On palæographical grounds the plates are assigned to the eighth century. The stone inscription in the temple of Srî Malleśvara-swami in Bezwada is in Telugu verse, and the inscription belongs to the ninth century (A.D. 890).

From the middle of the eleventh century Telugu compositions flourished, and in them is given clearer information regarding the country, which lent its name to the language spoken by more than half the population of the Madras Presidency.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, No. 27.
2 *JBORS.*, Sept. & Dec. 1923.
3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, No. 19.
4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 25.

Atharvaṇâcharya, who lived about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth, says in his *Tiriliṅga Sabdanuśasanam*,

'जयति प्रसिद्धं लोके सर्वलक्षण लक्षितम् ।
शब्दं त्रिलिङ्ग शब्दाना मथर्वण कवेः कृतिः ॥
करोमि शब्दं शब्दानानां त्रिलिङ्गानां सलक्षणम् ।
बार्हस्पत्यानि सूत्राणि काण्वं व्याकरणं विदन् ॥

"May the grammar of Triliṅga words, including the science of *lakshana*, composed by the poet Atharvana find fame in the world. Having studied the rules of Bṛhaspati and the grammar of Kaṇva, I shall write a grammar, including *lakshana*, of the language of the people of Triliṅga."

Here Triliṅga is used in the plural to denote the people. So also in *Andhra Kaumudi*,

कर्णाटाश्चैव त्रैलिङ्ग गूर्जरा राष्ट्रवासिनः ।
द्राविडा द्राविडाः पञ्च विन्ध्य दक्षिण वासिनः ॥

"Karnatas, Triliṅgas, Gurjaras, the inhabitants of the Rashtra country, (and) Dravidas are the five Dravida (sects) living to the south of the Vindhya (mountains). Karnatas are the people speaking the Kannada language; Dravidas are the people speaking Tamil; the people of Gujarat are the Gurjaras, and Maharattas are the people of Râshtra. Therefore Triliṅgas are the people living in the country to the north of the Krishna. In *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* more precise limits of this country are given :

श्रीशैल भीम कालेश महेन्द्रगिरि संयुतम् ।
प्राकारन्तु महत्कृत्वा त्रीणि द्वाराणु चाकरोत् ।
त्रिलोचनो महेश स्स त्रिशूलञ्च करे वहन् ॥
त्रिलिङ्गरूपी न्यवसन्त्रि द्वारेषु गणैर्वृतः ।
अन्ध्रविष्णु स्सुरयुतो दनुजेन निशम्भुना ॥
युद्ध्वा त्रयोदश युगान् हत्वाणु राक्षसोत्तमम् ॥
अवस त्तत्र ऋषिभिर्युतो गोदवरी तटे ।
तत्काल प्रभृति क्षेत्रं त्रिलिङ्गमिति विश्रुतम् ॥

"Designing an extensive frontier comprising Srî Saila, Bheemeśvara, (Dâkshârâma) Kâlêsa and Mahendra mountain, (he) made three gates (in it). The three-eyed god, Mahesa, holding the trident in his hand and attended by his followers, posted himself at the three gates in the form of three liṅgas. Andhra Vishṇu, helped by the gods, fought for thirteen ages with the giant Niśambhu and killed that best of the *râkshasâs*. He then took up his residence on the banks of the Godavari; since then the country is known as Triliṅga."

Whatever be the extent of the country, the central seat was on the banks of the Godavari, and that was Triliṅga. The region of which Triliṅga was the capital was known by the same name. Regions under the control of a government are called after the place where that government is located. Kingdoms invaded by Samudragupta are indicated by their capital towns. The *nâdus*, regions, take their name from the chief city in them; *e.g.*, Vêgi-nâdu is the country under the sway of Vêṅgi.

The various sects amongst the Brahmans of Southern India adopt the name of the region from which they originally came. Vegi-nâdu Brahmans were the natives of the region around Vêṅgi; so were the Kosala-nâdus and Vela-nâdus. The sect of Brahmans called Telagâṇyulu must have been at one time, the natives of the region of Telaṅga; for Telagâṇyulu is a modification of Telaṅga-nâdulu.

This sectarian division on the regional basis was not confined to the Brahmans alone. Amongst the Sûdras is a class known as the Telagas, which is merely a corruption of Telaṅga. The Sûdras of Kaliṅga are known as the Kâliṅgas; those of the country around

Siṁhachalam in the district of Vizagapatam (Govara Kshetra of the Siṁhachalam Inscriptions) are Gavaras. The Telagas are a Telugu caste of cultivators, who were formerly soldiers in the army of the Hindu rulers of Teliṅgâna[5].

The region gave its name to the language spoken there. The first Telugu poet, Nannaya, who seems to have had his home in this region, says that the Chalukyan King, Râja Râja requested him to write the *Mahâbhârata* in Telugu, in the following words:

*ka || Jananuta | Kṛshna-dwaipâyana-muni Vṛshabhabhi-hita Mahâ-bhârata baddha nirûpitârdha-mêrpada denuguna rachi-yimpu | madhika dhee-yukti meyin.*

"You who are praised by men! write in Telugu the theme that is incorporated in *Mahâ-bhârata* by the sage Kṛishna-Dwaipâyana, that it may show greater intelligence."

Then the poet engages himself to write it. He calls his language Telugu or Tenugu. But Śrînâtha, an inhabitant of Kondavîdu, the western part of Krishna District, says that his language is Karnâta.

*gee || Prauḍhi barikimpa Saṁskṛta-bhâsha-yaṇḍru*
*Palukunu, dukâramu-na nândhra bhâsha yaṇḍru*
*Yavar-êmanna nâkêmi korata nâ=kavitvambu*
*Nijamu Karnâta bhâsha.*

"By its grandness it is called Sanskrit; pronunciation and intonation show it to be Telugu. Whatever they may say, what do I lose? Surely my language is Karnâta."

Ramakrishna of Tenali says that his native town existed in the Andhradêsa:

*Andhra-bhûmee................târa-bha-maina.*
*Śrî Tenâlyagrahâra........................*

Thus the Telugu writers themselves admit that their language differed with the region of their abode. But some use Andhra and Telugu as synonyms. Tikkana Somayaji, a native of the district of Nellore, draws no distinction between Andhra and Telugu. C. P. Brown, author of the Telugu Dictionary, says that there are five varieties of the language, distinguished by *prâsa* or alliteration. Whatever be the number of dialects, the language spoken in a particular region is Telugu; the Brahmans that lived there formed the sect called Telagâ-ṇyulu or Telaṅga-nâḍulu. The cultivators there were Telagâs or Telaṅgas.

The rulers of the tract also got their title from it. Śrînâtha, a Telugu poet of the fifteenth century, requests a lord of Teluṅga for musk. This lord of Teluṅga belonged to the family of Sâmparaya. Similarly Vêmulavâda Bheemakavi approaches a Teluṅga-râya with a similar request. In *Râma Vilâsamu,* written in the thirteenth century, a Teluṅga king is mentioned. He was the son of Era Potarâju and his name was Ramanarendra. Another lord of Teluṅga is described by Mâdaki Siṅgana in his *Andhra Padma Purâṇam.* He was the brother of Muttabhûpala, and had his capital at Râmagiri in the province of Sibbi, to the south of the Godavari (Gautamî). The poet Siṅgana lived about A.D. 1340.

Pillalamarri China Vîrabhadraya, who lived after A.D. 1428 in the Court of Salvagunda Narasimharaju, says in his *Jaimuni Bhâratamu* that Sâḷva Mangu had conquered the southern Sultan and having wrested his kingdom from him gave it to Sâmparâya. It was this Sâmparâya's son who was called 'Telungu-râya' by Śrînâtha.

Vikrama Choḷa in about A. D. 1111 marched north and drove Teluṅga Bhîma[6] into the mountains. These extracts prove that a country called Teluṅga once existed; its ruler was called Telunga-râya; its Brahmans were Telanga-nâdulu, and the cultivators were the Telagas. The kingdom of Sabbi, mentioned by Madiki Singana, is perhaps represented by Sabba-varam in Godavari District. It is in this part of the Madras Presidency that the Telagas mostly abound. A study of the family names (generally adopted from the places where they

[5] *Madras Census Report,* 1891.
[6] *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II, part ii, No. 68.

originally dwelt) of the Telagâṇḍulu (Telaṅga-nâdulu) and also of the Telagâs (Telaṅgâs) may help us to give the precise limits of the region called Telaṅga or Teliṅga.

This inquiry also helps us to establish the correct spelling and pronunciation of the name of the region. This name is said to have been a corruption of Triliṅga. Vinnakôta Peddana, a grammarian of the fourteenth century, gives the derivation in his *Kâvyâlankâra-chûdâmaṇi* :—

*gee* || *Tat-Triliṅga-padamu tat-bhava-maguta-chê Telugu dêśa-managa dêta padiyê* |
*Venuka dêśamu naṇḍru gondara-bbâsha sancha gatula baragu chuṇḍu* ||

"That (word) Triliṅga being corrupted, it became clearly applied to the country ; afterwards some understand it to mean the country ; and some the language. Thus it is applied to both."

Here we may add that the language is said to have got its name from the country.

Appa Kavi, a grammarian of the seventeenth century, explains the origin of the word thus :—

*te* || *gee* || *Tatra nivâsamai tanaru katana-nândhra dêśam-bu dâ-driliṅgâ-khya-mayyê* |
*deluaguchu-dadbhavamu dânivalana bodamê venuka kondaru dâninê tenugu naṇḍru* ||

" As it has been the abode of the *liṅgas*, the Andhra country became known as Triliṅga ; Telugu is derived from it ; and afterwards it came to what some call Tenugu."

All the grammarians who investigated the origin of Telugu or Tenugu, seem to have worked on the theory that the region got that name by being bounded by the three *liṅgas* of Śrî Saila, Dâkshârâma and Kaḷêsa. Vidyâdhara, a poet of the time of Pratapa Rudra of the Kâkatîya Dynasty, was the first to invent this argument for the origin of the name. In his *Pratâpa-Rudrîyam*, a work on Sanskrit Rhetoric, he wrote thus in praise of his patron king :—

स्वामिन् ! त्रिलिङ्गदेश परमेश्वर !
यै देंश स्त्रिभि रेष याति महतींम् ।
ख्यातिं त्रिलिंङ्गाख्यया ।
येषां काकति राज कीर्ति विभवैः
कैलास शैलाः कृताः ।
ते देवाः प्रसरत्प्रसादमधुना
श्री शैल काळेश्वर
दाक्षाराम निवासिनः प्रतिदिनम्
त्वच्छ्रेयसे जाग्रतु ॥

" O lord ! the prime ruler of the country of Triliṅga ! By which the region attains the great glory of being called Triliṅga, and which by the splendour of the fame of the Kâkati kings has been made into the Kailâsa mountains ; may those gods of Śrî Śaila, Dâkshârâma and Kâlêśa shower their blessings now and be every day vigilant for thy prosperity."

It is only a poetic conception to say that the region got its name from having the three *liṅgas* on its confines. The Telugu country, or rather the sway of the kings of Warangal, did not confine itself within these three place. The *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* includes Mahendragiri, and says that Triliṅga lay within the four sacred places. Mahendra mountain being situated in the country of Kalinga, to say that this hill was on the frontier of the Telugu country, is to assert that the people of Kalinga also spoke Telugu ; or rather, the country as far as the Mahendra hill was also called Telanga. But from the copper-plate grants of the early Ganga kings,[7] the country up to that hill was called Kalinga. Therefore the statement in the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* must have been inserted at a later time.

[7] *Historical Geography of Kaliṅga*, Mythic Journal, July 1924.

The poetic explanation of Vidyâdhara had been accepted by other grammarians, and they worked upon it. It has already been shown that Vidyâdhara's explanation is not acceptable, as the Kâkati empire extended beyond the three holy places ; much less so are the explanations of his successors. So the correct name of the country has to be determined.

In old inscriptions, though written in Sanskrit, the names of places are not found in their Sanskritised form, but in their native form. Kottura and Vêṅgi are mentioned in their native form in the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta. Similarly in the Purle grant, written in correct Sanskrit, the name of the home of the donee is mentioned as Tiriliṅga. This is clearly not Sanskrit. A study of its derivatives in other languages confirms the view that the original name was Tiriliṅga.

Teliṅga (221. *Census Report*, 1911) is a village in Pedda Kimidi *Zamindari* of Ganjam District. A village Telanga is mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Narasimha Deva II [8] of the Ganga family. This is identified with the village of Teelung of the Indian Atlas. Telâng is the name of a family in the Marâtha country. A Teliṅga king is stated to have gone to Sundara Pandya[9] (Jatavarman Sundara I who is said to have reigned from A.D. 1251).

Therefore Tiliṅga or Telaṅga was the proper form, from which the modern word Telugu or Tenugu is derived. Tiriliṅga, but not Triliṅga, must be the word that gave rise to Tiliṅga or Telanga.

The conception that the country derived its name from the three phallic emblems of Śiva on its borders, arose from misunderstanding the last syllable to be *liṅga*. A careful study of words ending in *ṅga* helps us to understand rightly what idea 'Tiriliṅga' conveyed.

Kaliṅga is the name of a very ancient kingdom ; and its derivation is similarly misunderstood. A large number of villages in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts have names which end in *ṅgi*, a form of *ṅga*. Bodda-ṅgi (Nos. 79 and 80 Gumsoor Taluk)[10] is formed of *Bodda* (sycamine tree) and *ṅgi*. Kona-ṅgi (No. 287 Parlakimidi Taluk) of *Kona* (end) and *ṅgi* ; Odaṅgi (No. 255 Balleguda Agency) of *Oda* (lord) and *ṅgi* ; Borongo (No. 16 Chikati *zamindari*) of *Boro* or *Borra* (a hollow) and *ṅgo* ; Bonangi (No. 14 Śruṅgavarapukota Taluk, Vizagapatam Census Report, 1911) of *Bona* (food) and *ṅgi*. In all these cases the final termination is *ṅgi*, but not *angi*, as some would suppose ; for that which remains after *aṅgi* is taken away, conveys no meaning *e.g.*, Bon+angi where 'Bon' has no meaning.

Sanskrit scholars contend that *ṅgi* and its other forms *ṅgi* and *ṅgo* are derived from *gaṃ*, to go. This does not seem reasonable, as the Sanskrit termination has to be applied to a Dravidian word.

Kaliṅga is declared to be formed of *Kalin* (in strife) *ṅga* (to go), *i.e.*, because it had been a country where there was always strife, it is so named. This explanation is quite against what history tells us. The *Mahâbhârata* tells us that the king of Kaliṅga together with his son led a large army to help the Kurus. They were so powerful that Bhîmasêna had to spend a day in vanquishing them.

The edicts of Aśoka clearly state that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was peaceful and flourishing; and all classes of men lived in it in peace. The Hathi-gumpha Cave Inscription of Khâravêla does not speak of any strife in the country. Had it been a country where people had quarrelled among themselves, it would not have been populous and wealthy ; and a foreign king would not have desired to subdue it. In the light of these facts, the origin given by the Sanskrit grammarians appears unsatisfactory and unfounded.

In the language of the Kuis, a Dravidian tribe, the grain called paddy is known as *kuliṅga*. In the *Ramâyaṇa* the grain-eaters are called Kuliṅgah :

*Âdyah panthâh Kulingânâm ye-châ-nyê dhânya-jeevinah.*[11]

8 *JASB.*, Part I, No. 3, 1896.

9 *Arch. S. of S. I.*, Tamil & Sanskrit by Burgess and Natesa Sastry. No. 28.

10 The reference is to the *Census Reports* of 1911.

11 Kishkinda Kâṇḍa, chap. 58, verse 26.

' In the first plain are grown the paddy and other grain-eaters '. *Kulingâ*, which is a kind of grain spoken of in the Sanskrit works of medicine. The Aryans in their original home did not know anything of paddy ; it is only from the Dravidians in the valley of the Ganges that they got a knowledge of this kind of grain. These Dravidian tribes have been consequently called the Kulingâh. In the *Mahâbhârata* and in the *Purâṇas*, the word *Kalingâh*, a modification of *Kulingâh*, is used in the plural.[12] This is in accordance with the number, in which the word is used in its native language. *nga* is the plural termination in the language of the Kuis or Khonds, and is added to words ending in *li, ta, ja, da, ga, ra, ti*, etc. ; nouns expressing a collection are always plural, *e.g., kurvi-nga*=beans ; *cheppu-nga* =shoes.

It is from this word *kulinga* that the people and their language got their name. When the plural ending is taken away *kuli* remains. If the medial '*l*' is taken away, the word becomes *kû-i*, just as *paluku* becomes *pa-kku* ; *talli* becomes *tâ-i-*. It is to be observed that, when the medial '*l*' is omitted, the vowel in the first syllable is lengthened and the last consonant is doubled. So *kuli* becomes *kû-i* ; to make the last vowel vocable '*v*' is put before it and *Kû-vi* is the name of a tribe of the same class.

These *Kû-is* or *Kûvis* were called the Kulingâh by the Aryans. The transition of Kulinga to Kalinga in Aryan mouths is reasonable. The name of the people was afterwards applied to the country inhabited by them. In the ancient works of India, there are evidences to prove that the people whom the Aryans called Kulingâs or Kalingâs had their original home on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, and they receded along the Ganges before the Aryans. Thus being driven southwards, they were forced to leave the mouths of the Ganges and settle peacefully in the country along the East Coast. By the time of the war of the *Mahâbhârata*, they had established a powerful kingdom there. It is only in the hills bordering this region that these tribes are still found. All this has to be said just to show that the name Kalinga had its origin in the language of the Kû-is.

Thus '*linga*' in Kalinga has no reference to the phallic representation of Śiva. The word is made up of *kali* and *nga*. Similarly the '*linga*' in Tirilinga has as much existence as that in Kalinga. The word is made of *Tirili-nga* ; the last syllable being the plural termination. It is used in plural to denote a class of people, and the termination *nga* is added because the singular ends in *li*. The meaning of *Tirili* is now obscure and has to be discovered from the study of its derivatives.

*Tirli-ka* is a small lamp in dialectical Telugu ; *ka* being a termination meaning ' belonging to.' So *tirli*, a contraction of *tirili*, means 'light.' If the medial *r* or *ri* is omitted, the word becomes *tilli*; just as *parupu* becomes *pappu* ; *nirupu* becomes *nippu* ; *chirâku, chikku* ; *tarugu, taggu* ; *moradu, moddu* ; *karugu, kaggu*.

*Tilli* or *Tella* means 'white, bright' or 'light' ; its derivative, *teli*, occurs in *teli-navvu* (bright smile); *teli-ganti* (white-eyed); *teli-gâmu* (white planet, Venus). *Tella-vâre* (became pale). The derivatives of this now obsolete word are found in other Dravidian languages also.

Tillai is the vernacular name of Chidambaram, a town between the Vellar and the Coleroon rivers, with its famous ancient temple of Śiva.[13] The name Chidambaram is made of *chit* (=wisdom) and *ambaram* (=horizon or sky), *i.e.*, a place of wisdom. The vernacular name Tillai also must mean the same thing, but the Tamil grammarians explain that the name was given to the place because there was a grove of *tilla* trees (*excæcaria agallocha*) ; but the place

[12] Like some other names of countries, it is usually confined to the plural number (*ngâh*) confounding the place with the people inhabiting it—MON. WILLIAMS.

[13] *Manual of Administration*, Madras Presidency, Vol. IV, page 216.

bears a Sanskrit name also, which must naturally mean the same thing as *tillai*.[14] So *tillai* means 'wisdom' and 'wisdom' is generally described to be 'bright.' *Tillai* means 'white' or 'bright'. The Telugu words *telivi*, *teliyuta* (wisdom) are derived from *tirili*.

Thus *tirili* (wisdom, brightness)+*ṅga* means 'people of wisdom'. In the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* it is said that Andhra-vishnu, along with *rishis*, resided on the banks of the Godavari. In India all wise and learned men were spoken of as *rishis* in ancient days. This conforms to the real name of Tirilingâ. The place where these Tirilingâh (wise men) lived became known as Tiriliṅga. Sir George Grierson, has nearly arrived at the real origin of the word Telugu when he said: "It seems probable that the base of this word is *teli* and that *nga* or *gu* is the common Dravidian formative element. A base *teli* occurs in Telugu, *teli* (bright); *teliyuta* (to perceive)[15]".

Tirilinga, therefore, was a tract of land where learned and wise men lived. Telugu had its origin there. Telaṅga-nâdu Brahmans had their home in that country, and the Telagas were its original cultivators. It had a king called Telunga-râya. The modern Sabbavarm in the Godavari district marks the position of the country. As the country is mentioned in a document of the year A.D. 498, it must have originated about the fourth century, if not earlier. Telugu, therefore, must have had the beginning of its rise from about the same date.

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## THE CULTURAL VALUE OF THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN JAVA.

*(Translated from the Proceedings of the Java Institute.)*

BY MARY A. RÜS ; JOGJAKARTA.

[ The Java Institute held a Congress at Jogjakarta on December 24th to 27th, 1924, when many interesting questions were discussed, and amongst them was the question : What value have the ancient Javanese Monuments for present and future Javanese Culture ? In this important discussion the following gentlemen took part : 1. Dr. T. D. K. Bosch ; 2. Mr. N. A. van Leeuwen ; 3. Dr. Radjiman : 4. Mr. Maclaine Pont. In the following paper their remarks are translated. ]

### I.

### By Dr. T. D. K. Bosch.

The value of the ancient Javanese monuments for present day culture is small, because only a very limited number of enlightened Javanese understand the significance thereof, and the question arises whether it will be possible by education to awaken interest and love for this ancient Javanese culture in larger circles. Can a programme of education, stretching over the elementary and secondary schools, and (may be in the near future) the colleges, again make the ancient Javanese art, at present dead to the multitude, a factor of significance in the intellectual development of the Javanese race ? If ever the history of ancient Javanese art becomes a subject in the schools, the Javanese pupils will certainly memorize all facts with unequalled eagerness, and faithfully repeat all facts worth knowing. But all the acquired knowledge will only serve to increase the learning of the pupils. It will fail to awaken feelings of real love and admiration in them for the ancient arts, and it cannot be right to assume that the ancient Javanese art has the same value for the West as for the modern Javanese. Still the impression the West has received of the art will necessarily be mirrored in the education.

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[14] *Tillai-nâyagam* is an epithet of Śiva, as worshipped at Chidambaram. It is explained as *Tillai* (the trees of that name)+*nâyaka* (a lord). So Śiva is made a 'lord of the Tillai trees'. Śiva is generally described as the 'lord of wisdom'; but nowhere is he called the lord of the Tillai trees. It is absurd to translate a kind of tree by *Tillai*, in face of these proofs.

[15] *Ling. Sur. of India*, Vol. IV, Dravidian and Mundari Languages.

Two sides especially of Hindu-Javanese art have interested the European researcher; namely, the historical and the æsthetical. The historical or scientific interest seeks to investigate the developing stages of Hindu-Javanese architecture. The materials at their disposal are, first of all, the buildings themselves, by following the study of whose form of style it is possible to arrive at a chronological classification: secondly, the sources of history, such as the pæan of Nagarakrotagama, the history *Pararaton,* and the legends: thirdly, the iconography, or knowledge of images, with which is closely connected the interpretation of the rows of bas-reliefs along the galleries of walls of the temples.

The purely æsthetical method of contemplation is usually opposed to this learned point of view. At present nobody asks who made these works of art, or how or when they were created, or what ideals and aims they express. The only object is to admire the beautiful as the beautiful. The qualities of beauty free the work from its surrounding and temporary *milieu.* The artist, who creates an actual work of art, works, according to the æsthetes, by grace of divine inspiration, and is thus raised above all temporary happenings. The attitude of complete surrender in devout admiration is the only one possible towards the revelation of creative artistic genius.

It stands to reason that these two points of view can never be so one-sidedly defended in practice. The historian must take over something of the sense of beauty, the æsthete something of the scientific notion. There is room for an unlimited amount of individual opinion between the above-mentioned extreme courses. Yet the information about ancient Javanese art, which the Javanese receive from the West, moves between these two poles.

*How will the Javanese react thereto?* He will feel attracted towards everything appertaining to his own modern Javanese culture, to the antiquities of the Majapahit, known to him from the *babads,* to the temple reliefs which show the well-known figures and tales from the *wajang.* But towards the large sphere outside this he will remain a stranger, and all the beauties the æsthete can display will pass him by without making any deep impression on his mind. From the most distant ages the Javanese have always revealed a tendency to elucidate and group things according to their mystical value, to draw them within the sphere of the supernatural, and to encompass them with the many-colored threads of parables and symbols. Even now-a-days this tendency shows plainly in the mystical contemplations of the *wajang* figures. When the *wajang* still continues to exercise a fascination, not only over the crowd, but over even the most enlightened Javanese, then that fascination is not due to interest in the historical development, nor to rapture over the beauty of the leathern figures, but to the mystical feelings of the spectators which seek something round which to crystallize.

The love of the Javanese will also first be awakened towards ancient Javanese art, when this speaks to him mystic in language. When witnessing a production of Hindu-Javanese art, the interest of the Javanese appears generally just where that of the European *savant* and the æsthete ceases. He asks for the symbolic significance of the performance, and if he receive no answer, he himself has one quickly at hand, in which good and evil powers, the senses, the vital spirits play an important part—an explanation which usually mocks the most reasonable claims science demands. For instance, the greatest and the only value for its contemporaries of a shrine like the Borobudur must have lain in the fact that it revealed to them the eternal truth about the highest matters—creation, humanity, redemption from the cycles of reincarnation,—in an ingenious symbolism. Nevertheless, over the meaning of the Borobudur as a great symbol, in which the creed of a whole period is expressed,

there is spread an inpenetrable veil. Science is still incapable of answering these questions. And in this instance Borobudur is favoured by exceptionally privileged circumstances, in comparison with a Śiva building like the Jandi Prambanan.

Without any exaggeration it can be stated that everything has its own importance in Hindu-Javanese architecture. The tiniest *motif* hidden to the eye has had a meaning, as well as the awe-inspiring grim *kala*-head commanding the aspect of the whole gable above the entrance to Prambanan. Also the harmonious proportions between the lower parts of the buildings, the joinings of the profiles, the horizontal divisions, all have symbolic significance ; they are founded on numerical mysticism. The same refers to the bright colours, and to all these symbols, each in its own place, and with its own meaning, joined together in a great spiritual building of thought.

Hindu-Javanese art blossomed in the same sphere of mysticism as the mediæval West-European. " Symbolism created a cosmic view of a still stricter unity and closer connection " Huizinga wrote in *Mediæval Autumn,* " than causal-scientific thinking enables. It embraced with its strong arms all nature and all history. It created an inviolable precedence, an architectural articulation, a hierarchic subordination. For in every symbolic connection there must be a lower and a higher grade. Furthermore, nothing is too lowly to express and to glorify the highest. All things offer stay and prop for the rising of thoughts towards the eternal ; by mutual aid the ascent from step to step is accomplished." We are, however, in closer touch with Christianity than with the Eastern religions. Furthermore, mediæval mysticism remains conscious of the fact that it is only expressed by metaphors. Eastern imagination is not very lucid. It is so customary for an Easterner to express himself in symbols, that it is impossible for him to depart from this habit.

Art is only of value to the Indian, in so far as it enables him to give expression to his thoughts and feelings. Science must not withdraw from its duty of leading the way in this respect, under penalty of losing contact with its *milieu,* Java, and the spirit of the age. This spirit of the age also has its claims. Indeed it is not only the Javanese who show dissatisfaction, when only the outer edge of art is constantly displayed, and no insight is allowed into the world of ideas from which it is derived. Is it to be wondered at that by the strong craving for self-immersion, which during the last years has become manifest in every sphere, many should turn away from official science and knock at the door of theosophy for enlightenment?

As soon as the Javanese realize that the ancient monuments—whoever their makers may be—also have wisdom to impart in glowing ingenious language to the present day generation, then indeed is the seed sown, from which under favorable circumstances genuine love and admiration for the ancient art will grow.

Education will play a very important part in the process of evolution. The starting point must, however, be justly chosen. Science will have to subordinate Javanese intellect, forcing this latter to a logical way of reflection and methodical examination. Beware of the error, however, in considering it only possible to awaken interest for ancient Javanese art by overwhelming the Javanese with historical facts, or pointing out the beauty of it. The value of the ancient art will prove to be chiefly a matter of sentiment. One single shrine thoroughly comprehended will do more towards the spiritual development of the young generation than the combined historical knowledge and æsthetical appreciation of each and every one of the scattered antiquities of Java.

## II.

### By Mr N. A. Van Leeuwen.

" The question what religious tendencies are and their philosophical significance " writes William James in *Varieties of Religious Experience,* " must be answered by the application of two totally different methods of examination. In the first instance the question arises :

What is the nature of the examination, its origin, its history. In the second instance: What is the interest, the significance or purpose thereof?" According to the first mentioned method we must make a study of ancient Javanese monuments, and the present and future culture of Java. According to the second method the question arises: What significance can the old Javanese monuments exercise over present and future Javanese culture? Only in this way will it be possible to treat the subject objectively without disturbance by personal sentiments.

*I. What are ancient Javanese monuments?* Naturally we have in mind the monuments commemorating or narrating a by-gone culture. Consequently it will be necessary first to investigate which forms of culture already exist. Forms of culture can be divided into three categories: Art, Religion, Philosophy. The foundation of the latter is rectitude and moral sense. Science, resting on reason, is not an expression of culture belonging to any fixed time or people.

Consciousness of mankind expresses itself in five different spheres and five different ways: namely, physically as visible deed, emotionally, intellectually, essentially, through being human, and spiritually, in the intellectual life. The three first mentioned are merely human, instruments only of consciousness. The spiritual sphere is superhuman: such expressions as grace, sacrament, *charismata*, are here suitable. The essentially human sphere falls as under: in faith, discernment, insight and expression. These five phases of consciousness are clearly defined in the three divisions of culture, thus bringing all the forms under fifteen headings as shown in the following outline :—

| *Art.* | | *Religion.* | | *Philosophy.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Statical | describing | Cult | .. | History. |
| 2. Dynamical | ,, | Tradition | .. | Mythology. |
| 3. Descriptive | ,, | Theology | .. | Natural Science. |
| 4. Dramatical | ,, | Faith | .. | Metaphysics. |
| 5. Architectural | . | Mysticism | .. | Magic and Occultism. |

The abovementioned groups all have their roots in common consciousness. With regard to natural science, take, for instance, the knowledge of the people as to the art of healing, meteorology, psychology, etc. Music, singing, elocution, dancing, etc., fall under dynamical describing art. Architecture derives its existence from human intercourse, which manifests itself in domestic life, meetings and worship, all demanding buildings. Architectural style is not reproduced from nature, but from mathematics, therein of itself surmounting the natural. So far as to classification of the ancient Javanese monuments.

*II. What is the present and future Javanese culture?* Lexis defines culture as being the raising of desire above the state of nature. Clay puts culture opposite to nature as premeditation against the un-premeditated and unconscious. Wolff calls culture a form-association of spirits. It can be said also that in nature the cosmic (the individually unconscious) working of the spirit is the most pronounced, whereas in culture it is the personal working. Culture and nature both have their roots in a community. We can only speak about culture also in connection with a group. "Genius" writes Bierens de Haan, "is the workman who by reason of the needs of humanity, and in its service, builds culture. The ingenious personality as a creator of culture gives expression to what lies unawakened in the community."

Culture is not a sum of forms which can be indicated, but something organic, a living something which finds revelation in the forms, but is not confined to these. Just as man is not the sum of one head, two arms, etc. Separate forms of culture cannot be set aside and maintained by technical skilfulness, any more than an amputated arm can be kept alive: *vide* Berlage, *Beauty in Cohabitation*, page 75, *re* the causes of decadence, when he says: "Art is the result of a common working of the spirit, above all of a common feeling." This is specially

true with regard to architecture, which has always been intimately connected with worship, as in the case of temples and cathedrals ; or it is a glorifying of social conditions, as expressed by palaces and townhalls: *vide* Walenkamp, on present and future building.

"The soul is fed with neither constructive nor external matter, neither with schools and diplomas, but with spiritual nourishment : with religion and philosophy, and above all with mysticism. Mysticism is not a denial of reason, but its apotheosis. Mysticism completes reason. There is an indissoluble unity between artist, priest and philosopher." (Just Havelaar, *The Symbolism of Art*, page 17).

The soul of a people lives in culture, and the soul of the Javanese lives in the present day culture. What shapes does this culture show us ? Alas, it is a meagre result. All the spiritual expressions—architecture, mysticism, magic—have died out ; the essential (drama, *wajang*, faith and metaphysics) only half exist in tradition. If the future culture wants to become something more—less weak, more creative and more convincing—for the stranger, if it desires to be the living expression of a wide-awake and self-asserting national consciousness, then mysticism must again be reverenced, the dualism of the faith overcome, and the intellectual science, restored to honour, must again act on the basis of the lower manifestations of culture.

The future culture will take its colour from the future national consciousness. A free Java, an Indonesia, will make a rich culture possible. If Java remains bound down by foreign influences, culture will languish and perhaps disappear.

The factor which must be present, to prevent every expression of culture proving fruitless or absolutely vain, is the national consciousness. The *psyche* of a race, nation or people, is no abstract matter, but a very concrete reality, organically arranged in the human units, the constituting individuals. This consciousness has need of various forms of body and soul by which to express itself, and in this the human units necessarily must take part. In the blood of the race lie the hereditary seeds, upon which the physical and racial signs are founded. In the same way a human being is not a set of limbs with a soul within, but a soul which has command over various organs in this material sphere.

Now it is essential that the highest trio of elements, architecture, mysticism and magic, again occupy their proper proportions. These three possess a strong common relationship. In the home and the temple buildings, for instance, the various parts have their own symbolic significance ; every spot and each construction has its mystical and magic meaning ; each style, or orientation, is based on the same hidden reasons. This is also the case in town architecture. Just as mysticism and magic can be considered to be the nerves and veins of the nationsl body, so is architecture the frame thereof.

*III. What significance have the monuments for culture?* The monuments are only of significance in so far as they form part of the present or the future building of culture. They have as much significance for the present culture as the straw has for the drowning man. The drowning man is in this instance the national consciousness. From this source the seeking for support, the general interest in the ancient, the endeavour to comprehend. Furthermore the fear arising from self-preservation. There is not a culture, but a cultural movement. Life manifests itself by change. Tradition as a system is not culture. At the present moment this cultural movement is very palpable, it using the ancient as foundation for new ideals.

In conclusion, just a word about the practical side of the question. Compare here the essay by Mclaine Pont in *Djawa*, IV, I, page 71 : "The first condition is that all native societies, all native teachers and other intellectuals, should not consider the cognizance of beauty in the architecture of their own people merely as an æsthetical appreciation, but as

a means whereby to enrich and improve, and above all again adapt sane ideas to their own surroundings and daily habits, and not only architecture."

The ancient only inspires pride, reverence and application, when it intervenes in our lives. It does not enter our lives, if hoarded up in museums. Only visible buildings around us have any influence on our daily lives. But most of the monuments here in Indonesia are no longer even inhabited ruins, let alone the centre of active life. Here no name of street, square, bridge nor palace calls to mind an illustrious past. This is where education can help, firstly by the teaching of history, so far as this is not misused to acquire knowledge, but to build up character, to awaken national pride. The facts of history are the least important parts. History must be idealized ; national sentiment arises from hero-worship.

From the very first the work must lead in the direction of a united Indonesia. If the Java Institute only concerns itself with Java, it is liable to one-sidedness. The ancient Javanese monuments must be considered as ancient Indonesian monuments, and included within the circle of all such monuments. When reverence for old Indonesian history is awakened by real Indonesian education, then the national consciousness will again have freedom to work ; then ancient Indonesian monuments will become the centre of life, and the soul of the people will arise in self-conscious power. The significance of the ancient lies not in its shape, but in its substance as foundation for the new.

## III.
## Preliminary Advice by Dr. Radjiman.

By culture is meant an elevation of man by a harmonious development of his abilities in the way of striving towards a certain ideal, a world or life contemplation. Here we must ask ourselves what was the ideal of the ancient Javanese monuments. This is of the greatest importance, because thus only can we ascertain the value thereof, and decide if they have any significance for our future or not.

The Javanese language has no word which exactly expresses the Dutch words for " Art " or " artist," so deeply is art absorbed in our daily utterings. " Art is a form in which a world contemplation expresses itself. On the one hand we find this contemplation has other possibilities of expressing itself. On the other, the forms we find in a work of art are not only restricted to art itself, but apply to more than one form of civilisation." (André Jolles in *De Gids*, March 1st, 1924). According to Javanese conceptions, still another significance is attached to the work of art, namely the educational value of the work. Between the Eastern and the Western contemplation of life there is a difference, which has far-reaching consequences on the social manifestations, *e.g.*, on morals.

If you approach the Borobudur from the side nearest the Progo, the first impression received from the distance is the two-fold aspect of the monument ; to wit, the crowded appearance of the lower part and the empty solitude of the upper part. If you ascend the structure, making a complete round from the lowest gallery up to the *stûpa*, in which previously the largest unfinished statue of Buddha stood, you will find the explanation. The crowded lower part consists of angular galleries with parapets filled with works of sculpture. The solitary upper part only contains cupolas with images of Buddha placed in a circle unencompassed by parapets. The division is the expression of the Buddhistic teaching of being and not being, two contradictions which still are bound together. In this connection the images of Buddha in the galleries carry earthly ornaments, which the Buddhas under the cupolas lack. There is a connection between the ordinary human and the exalted human, which is shown in the galleries. The Javanese artists did not strive to work in exactly truth to nature, but according to a deeper spiritual conception. By numerous singularities of expression it is clearly pointed out that you have to relinquish material matters in order to enter the spiritual. This point of view must be continually borne in mind when judging Javanese works of art.

Let us now proceed to the question: "What is the culture of our present society?" Characteristic of Javanese *psyche* is its synchronous character. After the fall of Majapahit, the ancient Javanese era yielded place to the Wali's, this being characterized by absorbing the Muhammadan faith without renouncing their previous Saiva and Buddhistic religions. Following upon this, came Javanese contact with Europeans. The decline of the Javanese intellect dates from the Wali period. Still, however, there are features in Javanese society which still expound the old traditions. These features are certainly not consciously the old ones, yet they are closely united with the charactēr of the Javanese life and social perceptions. You have only to bear in mind the various *slamatan* festivals, the *petangans*, artistic utterances such as the *wajang* games, the dances, music and literature. Especially in the *wajang* games and the literature, which still remain so popular, are there proofs enough that the old culture still clings to our *psyche*. The heroes of the *wajang* games are also to be found reproduced on the ancient Javanese monuments.

Western culture pivots round an intellect, wherein material objects become the main point. The Western view of life—with the exception of Jewish and Christian doctrines, which, however, are never lived up to by Western leaders—follows a materialistic trend. By reason of this we have the victories of science, technique and international intercourse. This also engenders the glorification of the idea of "interest," imperialistic expansion, economical theories. As regards the Javanese people it can be stated without doubt that their social development still runs in the direction of the old religious culture, although not so intensively as formerly, on account of the connection with the dominant Western culture, which more or less forcibly inspires a materialistic view. Take for instance the schools. From the elementary to the highest education not once is any allusion made to the Javanese view of life implicit in the old culture.

Our task is to do all we can to awaken again the idea, which is termed "knowledge," of our old culture, especially as regards metaphysics. I do not mean by this that we should not make use of Western experience. On the contrary, there are many things we do not possess at present, and which we shall certainly have to learn. Still they will only be "aids" in the direction of our evolution according to the old conception of culture. Materialistic means will be necessary, but the means must not become the main point.

Thus it is absolutely necessary that we examine the ancient Javanese monuments, and particularly their internal features, according to our own metaphysics, and not from the Western standpoint. We should advise not only preservation, but also reconstruction, of ancient Javanese monuments, according to scientific and æsthetical requirements. Perhaps they will not only spiritually influence present Javanese society, but also be of value to the human race in general.

## IV.

### Preliminary Advice by Mr. Maclaine Pont.

We may examine the question whether the study and restoration of the ancient Javanese monuments cannot be used as a foundation, on which to build up a new orientation of Javanese art traditions, and a consolidation of Javanese art handicrafts, so that all attempts to raise these could be grouped together to form a school for the exercise of architecture on a classico-national basis. Such a school might be the first step towards the founding of an academy. This would fit in better with the Javanese character than any other technical education. Opinions, however, are very divided as to how great a share the Javanese have had in the erection of the large monuments. A dispute has arisen as to who can claim the paternal rights. It is certainly not difficult to point out many special Javanese elements which are missing from the Indian buildings on the continent, such as the **Hala head,**

the Makara, the spouts. The exceedingly strong personal element in the Indian images became in Java a stereotyped "loveliness." On the other side Javanese decoration is distinguished from the overloaded continental by its elegant style. Hindu architecture is of a more overwhelming beauty, overpowering us by its irresistible vitality. It is far more solid in conception than the Javanese. It is carried out with an ease which seems to mock all problems. But it is least of all purist. Errors against the teachings of architectural balance are made even in the days of the most perfect works. The Javanese works on the contrary excel in refined architectural spirit, a careful deliberation, an accurate balance. Still more in the same vein can be found.

Real architecture, particularly religious architecture, generally comes *after* the agitation caused by a new spiritual movement, *i.e.*, not *before* the spiritual benefits have reached the masses. This in itself makes it very improbable that the large architectural movement of Central Java could have been founded by, or erected for, a few rulers, without the great masses of the people having taken any intensive part therein. The upper classes, including the priesthood, have never had a craving for monumental buildings of worship in the Indian sphere of culture. It is very peculiar in this connection that in Java no palaces of any special interest were built during that period. In the narrow sense of the word the Hindus did not build for themselves. They erected the large religious monuments to consolidate the State. It is significant that the erection of the great buildings in Central Java coincides with the fight for supremacy in Java between the two great dynasties of Java and Palembang. What other purpose did the erection of these buildings serve than the winning of the spiritual aspirations of the Javanese people ? The Buddhistic dynasty of Palembang builds Borobudur : opposed to this stands the Saiva Prambangan built after the expulsion of the Palembangers.

How has Hindu rule influenced Java ? This influence must have been stronger and of a more sublime character than was ever possible to a mere Hindu builders' guild. There must have been an architecture in Java, resembling in many features the primitive Jameh style, before the Hindu dynasties came to Java. This architecture was used in Sumatra, and perhaps also in Java, in such a way that the differences with Jampa are explicable. It is this style of building which blossomed forth into the grand classical architecture of Central Java.

It is a great question whether the Hindu dynasties gained their supremacy over Java by a war of conquest, and it is easier to assume that they gained a firm footing by their religious propaganda, expounded by missionaries working with an ulterior political aim. The influence exercised by the higher Hindu castes has obviously first of all been a further elevation of the canonical architecture based on Indian proportional outlines. Who were the sculptors ? Certainly not Hindus ; for there are far too many non-Indian elements in the style.

The two following hypotheses must be assumed : In the first place, before the classical architectural movement, Java had its own school, developed on distinctly Javanese-Malay lines, primarily, perhaps, originating from the heart of Asia over the lands of the Khmers and Jams (Indo-China). In the second place, the reliefs of the Borobudur plainly indicate the influence of a greater kindred sphere. In these reliefs a deliberate compendium is given of all kindred forms of architecture.

There has also been lively intercourse in the south-eastern Asiatic world regarding spiritual matters. The style-notion behind the school of sculpture of the Borobudur is not Indian, but Javanese or Javanese-Malay. It seems improbable that a guild, which during thousands of years, through all climates and diverse periods of culture, upheld their canonical

fundamental ideas, should suddenly by a voyage to Java lose their own constructive line of thought and express themselves in a totally different manner. No Hindu guild can thus have been at work on the reliefs of Java. This does not exclude the working of casual Hindu sculptors. Personal Hindu influence is very possible.

Which part then of the reliefs can have been the work of Hindus ? A very close study of a few reliefs of the Borobudur reveal first of all that the sculptors themselves did not possess even the slightest knowledge of Indian structure ; secondly that, in illustrating Hindu tales, they picture the persons in complete Javanese surroundings ; and thirdly, that this state of things is accepted by both the worldly and priestly builders. But at the same time they intimated that in the Holy-land of India the roofs and *emporans* were ogee-shaped. In this manner a Javanese representation arose out of conditions in the Holy-land. An influence was brought to bear on Javanese compositions by priests and Hindu rulers having no technical education.

It is quite a different matter with the Prambanan reliefs. Here is a much freer, more realistic style, and only here and there a reminiscence of some unreal reproduction from the buildings of the Holy-land. There can be no doubt therefore that the lion's share of the building and composition of the classical architecture of Java must be placed to the credit and the æsthetic initiative of the Javanese. It cannot but strike us how much superior is the workmanship of the few exalted figures, the Buddhas themselves, the sick and the dead and others. These principle figures seem to have been the work of picked men with special faculties. These may have been Hindus.

How is it now with the totally different East Java architecture ? In this respect decadence has been suggested. Nevertheless, the East Java temples adhere much closer to the primeval architecture. For all the characteristics of the primeval form are reproduced in the construction of the Jandi Kidal with its four staircases along the base, leading from the gallery to the temple door and to the *fauxportes*, with its level shut temple-shaft and closed-in sloping projecting cornice. Only the pear-shaped top and the jointed roof are replaced by the spire representing the Holy Mountain.

During the second prosperous period the Javanese, now left more to themselves, created an architecture in the true sense of the word. Whoever makes a successive study of the East Javanese temples is continually struck by the great difficulties to be overcome in the perfectioning of this type, but also by the surprising and exquisite way in which these æsthetic difficulties have constantly been surmounted.

Side by side with this religious architecture there arose in Java a monumental civil architecture, having its own specific laws of beauty and character. As a direct result of their mode of life, mostly spent out of doors owing to the climate, and made possible by the public security, the Javanese produced a typical " walled round " architecture. By a continuously more massive conception of enclosing dwellings and compounds it was possible to erect monumental abodes, without running any danger from earthquakes or renouncing the valuable asset in that climate of an open style of building. Even if the second period of Javanese architecture is inferior to the first with regard to the classical in its religious monuments, its secular architecture is more interesting. The termination of the Hindu-Javanese period in no way dammed the currents of the architectural art arisen in Java.

In conclusion we may make the following statement. Even though the most exalted manifestations of Hindu-Javanese art be ascribed to a fortunate meeting of two highly enlightened cultured people, still the Javanese, (and with them a few other races of the

Archipelago, have played an extremely important part in the building of the mediæval monuments. Part of these monuments must be ascribed entirely to the fine preceptions of the Javanese builders. These people are not yet dead, and the significance of the ancient Javanese monuments lies in the fact that they form the conscience of the Javanese as a race, by bearing witness to what this race has once been able to create.

By the restoration of the monuments, the intellectual and artistic powers among the native people must be made more of. More consideration ought also to be given to the preservation and the judicious restoration of the few intact buildings left to us from the Muhammadan age. Secondly, the restorations must be in connection with a systematically technical-æsthetical training *ad hoc* of native workmen, for this is the way to arrive at a new development of native handicrafts. The question of how far the work of restoration can be carried is only a question of the pecuniary resources at our disposal. Do not let us be led away by too exaggerated a puritanism.

## WADDELL ON PHŒNICIAN ORIGINS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 209.)

### 10. St. Andrew as an Aryan Phoenician.

Waddell next sets to work to show that St. Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, is a survival of Indara of the *Sumerian Psalms* and Indra of the *Rig Veda*. He says that "St. Andrew as patron saint with his cross incorporates the Hitto-Sumerian Father-god Indara, Indra, or Gothic Indri-Thor, introduced, with his hammer, into early Britain by Gothic Phœnicians;" and then that this discloses the "pre-Christian worship of Andrew in early Britain, and the Hittite origin of the crosses on the Union Jack and Scandinavian Ensigns, the unicorn and Cymric goat as the sacred goat of Indara, the goat as rebus for Goth, and St. Andrew as an Aryan Phœnician." He next quotes *Sumerian Psalms* as to Indara, and then the *Rig-Veda* thus:—

"Indra, leader of the heavenly hosts and human races,
Indra encompassed the Dragon.
O Light-courier, day's Creator.
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Slaying the Dragon, Indra let loose the pent waters.
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Indra, hurler of the four-angled rain-producing bolt."

St. Andrew, with his × cross is the patron saint of the Scyths, Gothic Russia, Burgundy of the Visigoths, Gothland and Scotland, and is Hittite Phœnician origin in his legend. He bears "the Aryan Gentile and non-Hebrew name of Andrew, *presumably* Aryan Phœnician, and the priestly legend attached to him incorporates part of the old legend of his namesake Induru, a common Sumerian title of the Father-god Bel, who is the Hittite Indara, Indri or Eindri the Divine, a title of Thor of the Goths, and Indra, the Father-god of the Eastern branch of the Aryan Barats . . . . The worship of Andrew with his × Cross was widespread in early Britain, and in Ireland or ancient Scotia, in pre-historic times long before the dawn of the Christian era . . . . He is the Inara stamped with cross, etc., on ancient Briton coins." Waddell here gives two pages of illustrations of the cross saltire or leaping cross of St. Andrew on "Hitto-Sumerian, Trojan and Phœnician seals" to compare with "pre-Christian monuments in Britain and Ireland," showing them to be identical. Waddell remarks that St. Andrew's Cross "appears to have been . . . . the battle axe or hammer symbol of Indara or Thor." However this may be, I may say that during the Burmese War of 1885–9 I myself saw dacoits crucified by villagers by being tied to a cross saltire and left to die in the sun. In fact, as an 'execution' instrument the cross saltire × is more easy to manipulate than the Christian Cross † or St. George's Cross +.

At this point we have some more etymology. The cross-saltire's function is defined as a "protecting father or Bel," and its name has "the word value of *pap* (thus giving as the Sumerian source of our English word *papa* for father as protector) . . . . It is also called *geur* (or George) or *tuur* (or Thor), . . . . and is generally supposed and with reason to picture a battle-axe . . . . It is specially associated with Father Indara or Bel." Waddell, however, later on says that "the synonym" for cross-saltire is "*gur*, hostile, to destroy, . . . . which gives the Sumerian origin of the Old English *gar*, a spear, and *gore*, to pierce to death." This rather vitiates its association as *geur* with 'George,' the husband-man, though St. George was the slayer of the Dragon. But perhaps Waddell means that 'St. George' arose out of a corruption and has nothing to do with the Western name 'George.' In his view, moreover, St. George and St. Andrew are identical and both represent Indara, Indra. In a footnote here is a remarkable statement: "in Sumerian the name In for the hospitable house [or shrine] of Indara discloses the source of our English *inn*." There are several more of such derivations in this part of the book: *e.g.*, "The Sumerian word-sign for Kat or Xat, the basis of the clan title of Catti or Xatti (or Hittite) . . . . is the original source of Ceti or Scot"; and later on we reach :—" the Scythians were Aryanised under Gothic or Getee rulers, and their name Scyth, the Skuth-es of the Greeks is cognate with Scot." Also "the Sumerian Sign Xat represented their own ruling clan-name of Catti, Xati, Ceti or Scot."

St. Andrew came "from Beth-Saîdân or Beth-Saida. Beth is the late Phœnician form of spelling the Sumerian Bid, a bid-ing place or abode, thus disclosing origin of the English word '*bide*.' And Saidân or Saidâ, which has no meaning in Hebrew, is obviously Sidon. The Phœnician sea-port of Sidon was latterly, and is now called Saida and is within fifty miles of Beth-Saida." On this and other grounds it appears to Waddell that it is "*probable* that Andrew, Peter, Bartholomew and Philip were not only Aryan in race, as their names imply, but that they were part of a colony of Sidonian Phœnicians, settled on the shore of the Sea of Galilee of the Gentiles," where Christ himself "preached chiefly."

Andrew, as an Apostle, according to Syrian Church history, "(like Indara, who maketh the multitude to dwell in peace) freed the people from a cannibal Dragon, who devoured the populace by . . . . spouting water over the city and submerging it," as is freely represented in Hitto-Sumerian seals. His name is usually spelt in Sumerian . . . . as the House of Waters (In-Duru, or the Inn of the Duru, *i.e.*, the Greek "*udor* and Cymric *dur*, water"). On this Waddell point has a remarkable quotation from the *Rig Veda* :—

"I, Indra, have bestowed the earth upon the Aryans,
And rain upon the man who brings oblations,
I guided forth the loudly-roaring waters.
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
O Indra, slaying the Dragon is thy strength,
Thou lettest loose the floods
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Indra, wearing like a woollen garland the great Parusni [Euphrates] river,
Let thy bounty swell high, like rivers, unto this singer."

And then he gives a quotation from a *Sumerian Psalm* :—

"The waters of Purusu [Euphrates], the waters of the Deep . . . .
The pure month of Induru purifies."

And he says that "a similar function is ascribed to Jehovah in the Psalms of David." This connects Andrew with Indara, Indra, and Induru, and to the Vedic Parusnî=Euphrates, Waddell says that "the Euphrates was called by the Sumerians Buru-su or Paru-su and in Akkadian Poru-sinnu, which latter *appears* to be the source of the Vedic name of Parusnî." Even Andrew's reported martyrdom in Achaia under a proconsul Ægeas is a Hitto-Sumerian

or Gothic myth, as " the Sumers and Goths were historically known as the Ægeans or Achaians : " proof unfortunately in Waddell's yet unpublished *Aryan Origin of the Phœnicians*. Also the desire of Scottish maidens for husbands, which leads to prayers for them on the eve of St. Andrew's festival (30th November) is " now explained by Indra's bestowal of wives ": *e.g.*, the *Rig Veda* verse :—' Indra gives us the wives we ask.' On the whole Waddell is clear that St. Andrew is the survival of a Hitto-Phœnician god.

" St. Patrick's Cross also *appears* to have had its origin in the same pagan fiery Sun Cross as that of St. George . . . . St. Patrick . . . . was a Catti or Scot of the Fort of the Britons on Dun-Barton, who went to Ireland or Scotia, as it was then called . . . . to convert the Irish Scots and Picts of Erin in A.D. 433." From " his famous *Rune of the Deer* " it is evident that he incorporated the Sun and Fire cult into his Christianity, when " consecrating Tara in Ireland, whence the name Deer, the Sumerian Dara, now seen to be the source of our English *deer*, is the basis of one of the Hitto-Sumerian modes of spelling the god-name of In-Dara, who . . . . is symbolised by the deer or goat." So " we discover that the crosses of the British Union Jack, as well as the crosses of the kindred Scandinavians are the superimposed pagan red Sun-crosses and Sun-god's hammer of our Hitto-Phœnician ancestors."

We next come to the unicorn, " the special ancient heraldic animal of the Scots, " which " is now disclosed to be the sacred goat or antelope of Indara, which is figured in early Hittite rock-sculpture with one horn ". On the name *sig, sigga*, Sumerian for goat, Waddell has a long etymological note, which is notable in its way :—" Sumerian *qûd, qut*, supply *goat*, Goth and Getœ : Sumerian *sag, sig* supply Sakai, Sacae, Saxon, and the Indo-Aryan clan name Sakya, and the Saga,s of Egypt ; *uz* supplies Uku, Achai-oi and Greek *aix* and Sanskrit *aja*, a goat. The goat is a universal emblem. In the Vedic hymns " the Sun is sometimes called the goat, with the epithet of " the one-step ; in Hitto-Sumerian seals and on Phœnician and Græco-Phœnician coins " it is found in connection with the Sun-cross and the protecting archangel Taś, and also in early British monuments. And thus it was that the goat and its symbols spread to Britain. In illustration of all this Waddell gives four pages of figures, and notes thereon of goats as Goths in ancient Sumerian and Phœnician seals and ancient Briton monuments.

### 11. Tas-Mikal, the Archangel Michael.

We are next taken to a discussion on " Tas-Mikal, the Corn-Spirit or Tash-ub of the Hitto-Sumers," who " is Tascio of the early Briton coins and prehistoric inscriptions, Ty the Gothic god of Tuesday, and Michael the Archangel, introduced by Phœnicians ; disclosing his identity with the Phœnician archangel Tazs, Taks, Dashap-Mikal and Thiazi, Mikli of the Goths, Daxa [Daksha] of the *Vedas*, and widespread worship in early Briton ; the Phœnician origin of Dionysos and Michaelmas Harvest Festival, and those names . . . . Tasc, Tascio and Tascif are synonyms with Dias on ancient Briton coins."

The tutelary deity of the Sumerians or early Phœnicians was Taś or Diaś, " the first-born son of God Ia (Jahveh, Jove or Indara), the archangel messenger of Ia." Taś " is hailed as the gladness of corn, Creator of wheat and barley. This discovers his identity with the Corn-spirit of the Greeks, Dionysos. " Tascio (=Taś) " is the Hitto-Phœnician original of St. Michael the Archangel in name, function and representation," and his cult was widespread in Britain " in the Phœnician period." Vestiges of the cult of St. Michael " as the Corn spirit . . . . survive to the present day in the name Michælmas for the Harvest Festival (September 29th) in Britain, in association with his sacred sacramental Sun-goose, the Michaelmas Goose of that festival, and in the St. Michael's Bannock or cake of the Michaelmas Festival in the Western Isles of Scotland."

Waddell is of opinion that the idea " of investing God with an archangel " came comparatively late. " The Father-god or Bel was early given by the Aryans the title of

Zagg or Sagg (or Zeus) " with the meaning of Shining Stone or Being, Maker or Creator, thus giving the sense of the Rock of Ages to the God as the Creator." Then " this early Aryan name for God . . . . is found spelt by the early Sumerians . . . . as Zaks or Zakh, in the form of the enthroned Zax or Zakh (En-Zax), with the meaning of the enthroned Breath or Wind." This, however, is Waddell's personal reading, " the Assyriologists read Zax by its Semitic synonym of Lil. The Sumerians . . . . delegated the powers [ of God ] on earth to a deputy in the person of the first-born Son of Ia, the archangel Taś or Taxi (Mero-Dach or Mar-Duk), who was made in Babylonia to overshadow his Father." However among the " Hitto-Sumerians and Phœnicians . . . . Taś appears to have retained his original charactei of the archangel of the One God."

Then " the early Aryans or Hitto-Sumerians, Khatti or Catti Goths . . . . instituted a patron saint or archangel of agriculture and the plough . . . . They also took from this their title of Arri or Arya (Englished into Aryan), which I find is derived from the Sumerian *ar*, a plough (thus disclosing the Sumerian origin of the Old English ' to ear ' (*i.e.*, to plough) the ground; Gothic, *arian* ; Greek, *aroein* ; Latin, *arare*)." Next, after the fight with " devil worshipping aborigines under the leadership of their great warrior Aryan king, the second king of the first Aryan dynasty of the traditional lists," they apotheosized him as their archanged patron saint. He is thus, the human original of " the archangel Taxi or Taś, the Tash-ub or Tash of the plough . . . . , the Tascio of the Briton coins . . . . and St. Michæl, the Archangel of the Gentiles." He is figured in the same conventional manner on the Briton coins as on the Hitto-Sumerian seals. Waddell gives these plates of coins to show this.

" Michæl, in ancient Mesopotamia as Me-ki-gal, applied to the barley-harvest cutting--*se-kin-kud*," in which vernacular word Waddell characteristically sees the origin of the English *seel* and *cut*. " In the *Vedas* " his name is seen in " Magha-van or Winner of bounty (*magha*), a title of the Sun-god Indra, [14] and of some of his deputies : and the Vedic month Mâgha is the chief harvest-month and the month of great festival . . . . In India he is figured as Daxa [Daksha], or the dexterous Creator, with goat's head and field of food-crops." His name as given by Waddell in a great number of forms, British to ancient Sumerian, and this starts him on a fresh etymological speculation on the Sumerian origin of Scottish *task*, an angel or spirit ; of the Gothic warrior Ty or Tuesday ; of the French Mar of Mar-di ; and of the Greek Dionysos : also of *lam*, a plough-share (Sumerian) in Lam-mas.

Waddell next discusses " the hitherto inexplicable prehistoric symbol of the " Crescent and Sceptre," in frequent occurrence in the neighbourhood of the Newton Stone, which " is now discovered to represent the ear-piercing of Taś, the heavenly husbandman—piercing the earth by his spear-plough and heaving up the soil into ridges for cultivation." This identification he finds confirmed by the Ogam inscription on the top of the Logie Stone in the same neighbourhood, hitherto unread. This he reads as B(i)L Ta QaB HO Ra, and translates, " To Bil and Tachab, Ho raised (this)." Ho he takes to be the same name as Hugh, and its possessor to be a " Cassi Barat in race like Port-olon." In the same neighbourhood have been found many bronze sickles, chiefly at a place called Arre-ton, " *presumably* ' town of the Aryans.' "

Waddell gives next a fresh etymology, which is at least interesting if one could believe it to be correct. Aberdeen Cathedral is called St. Machar or St. Macker, and this name he takes to be St. Michael or Makhiar, " just as Indara's shrine, a little further South, was converted into St. Andrews, where significantly the first Christian church was dedicated to Michael, *i.e.*, the first begotten son of Indara or Andrew." Finally Waddell points out that the cult of St. Michael is all over Britain, as to the antiquity of which he makes the following

14 But have we not here a 'new' sense of Maghavân.

quotation from the most recent clerical authority :—" Given an ancient dedication to St. Michael and a site associated with a headland, hill-top, or spring, on a road or track of early origin, it is reasonable to look for a pre-Christian sanctuary—a prehistoric centre of religious worship." And he winds up with the statement that " for the first time " it is discovered that " the racial title Arya or Aryan . . . . is the Hitto-Sumerian word Arri."

### 12. The Aryan Phoenician Element in the British Isles.

In discussing the general question Waddell starts with quotations from the *Vedas*, which show his attitude :—

Indra hath helped his Aryan worshippers
In frays that win the Light of Heaven.
He gave to his Aryan men the godless dusky race :
Righteously blazing he burns the malicious away.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Indra alone hath tamed the dusky races
And subdued them for the Aryans.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Yet, Indra, thou art for evermore
The common Lord of all alike.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

And to him who worships truly Indra gives
Many and matchless gifts.—He who slew the Dragon,
He is to be found straightway by all
Who struggle prayerfully for the Light.

Waddell's general view is that there were several successive waves of immigration of the Aryan Catti-Barat Stock, and despite the mixture with aboriginal blood, this stock has survived in tolerable purity. As to the extent of the intermixture, the early Aryan Gothic invaders were essentially a race of highly-civilized ruling aristocrats in relatively small numbers, and before the arrival of Brutus the Trojan, there was little intermixing. Permanent settlement seems only to have begun in his time, but the aborigines were of a different colour and inferior mentality, and inter-marriage was repugnant. However, increase in the Aryan population and rise in status of aborigines brought about inter-marriage, which steadily increased until there is " no such thing as an absolutely pure-blood Aryan left in the British Isles." Yet the superior intellectuality of the Aryan tended to fix his prominence in the intermixture, making him the back-bone of the nation, though there has never been any wiping out of aboriginal stocks. Therefore on the whole " the terms Briton, British, English, Scot, Cymri, Welsh or Irish, in their present day use, have largely lost their racial sense and are now used mainly in their national sense." Thus does Waddell unconsciously answer a question that constantly arises in the reader's mind during a study of his book :—how could the Phœnicians, assuming that they really did come into and conquer the whole country, have so entirely dominated the minds and the languages of the aboriginal races of Britain ?

Waddell has had a magnificent dream, but his methods of etymological, ethnical, and chronological comparison and historical deduction make it impossible for scholars to believe that he has shown it to be true, despite the immense labour he has bestowed on it.

# BOOK-NOTICES.

HISTORY OF THE NAYAKS OF MADURA, by R. SATHYANATHA AIYAR, edited by S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR. Madras University Historical Series. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1924.

We have here an excellent book by a Madras University historical research student who has set about his work in the right way, no doubt under the experienced guidance of his editor. It is not a new subject, for I well remember Mr. V. Rangachari's voluminous history of Madura in the *Indian Antiquary*, in 1914-1916 (Vols. XLIII-XLV). But Mr. Sathyanatha Aiyar has been diving into all the available records, and here he has had the invaluable assistance of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The result is an authoritative book.

The most interesting part of the work at present lies in the Appendices on the remarks of the Jesuit Fathers on this part of India in the 17th century. By this observation I do not wish to detract from the value of the remainder of the book, but the appearance of these travels of Jesuits at that period in South India at the same time as Father Wessell's invaluable ***Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*** makes them of peculiar interest, as they show how indefatigable the "early" Jesuits were and how great were their unconscious services to Indian History during the pioneer days of the European invasion. In Father Wessel's book we have the great doings of Goes, Andrade, Azevedo, Cacella, Cabral, Grueber, Roth, d'Orville, Desideri and many another, from Constantinople to the Great Wall of China and Pekin, and all through the Himalayas, from Kashmir to Nepal and Tibet and on to Bhutan. Mighty travellers indeed were they. And we have the letters and reports in Father Bertrand's *La Mission du Maduré* III from one Father after another, relating as contemporaries the historical events of their time in the extreme South of India. These are followed by similar documents of the first decade of the 18th century from John Lockman's ***Travels of the Jesuits***, itself consisting of translations from ***Lettres Edifiantes***, and lastly we have extracts from John Nieuhoff's ***Voyages and Travels in Brasil and East Indies***. It hardly need to be said that such evidence is of first rate quality, and the mere addition of these appendices to the book justifies its compilation.

The kingdom of the Nayaks of Madura lasted about 300 years in the 15th to 18th centuries, and played a great part in the protection of South India for the Hindus from Muhammadan aggression, and thus its existence was a matter of vital importance to Hinduism generally as a religion. It was also deeply involved in the rise of Christian power in India. A study, therefore, of the history of the Madura kingdom is one that cannot be overlooked by the serious student of Indian History. Any book that throws light on its details is worthy of careful attention.

Mr. Sathyanatha Aiyar in his Introduction gives an admirable general survey of Madura history. In his view the Hindu principality arose out of the fall of a Muhammadan kingdom there, after the early Muhammadan raids, and its acquisition by the Vijayanagar Dynasty was the foundation of what was afterwards the great Vijayanagar Empire. Madura then became a Viceroyalty of that Empire almost from the beginning, about 1350. Then there were many troubles until about 1530 when the Viceroyalty under the Nayaks became semi-independent. Meanwhile the Portuguese missionaries appeared on the scene and the wholesale conversion to Christianity of the coast fisherfolk, which made them *ipso facto* subjects of the King of Portugal, raised difficulties. Presently the Empire began to disrupt, and in the events relating thereto Madura took its share, always apparently seeking an opportunity to proclaim itself independent. Then came the Muhammadan attack on the Vijayanagar Empire from its Northern boundaries—from Golkonda and Bijapur—and its final overthrow. The fall of the Empire spelt the doom of the Viceroyalties, and then the Marathas appeared on the scene and Aurangzeb attacked the Nayaks' great enemies, the Dakhani Muhammadan States. The confusion was almost endless, and in the end the Marathas put down the Madura Viceroyalty in the earlier half of the 18th century. But Mysore saved herself and is still ruled by the dynasty that made itself then conspicuous.,

Such is the merest outline of the story of so great importance to modern India generally, the details of which are told with conspicuous ability in the pages of Mr. Sathyanatha Aiyar and the notes of Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KSATRIYA TRIBES. Vol. I., by BIMALA CHARAN LAW, PH.D., M.A.; with a foreword by DR. L. D. BARNETT, M.A.; Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1924.

Dr. Barnett in his foreword to Dr. Law's latest work calls attention to the change of attitude on the part of scholars during the last quarter of a century towards early Indian traditions,—particularly those embodied in the Epics, *Puranas*, and Buddhist and Jain canons. So far from rejecting them *en bloc* as mere folk-tales, they are now endeavouring to trace the skeleton of real history which is believed, probably rightly, to underlie this huge mass of legend. The excavations at Knossos and the discovery of the Minoan civilization, which are now proved to have formed the basis of more than one ancient Greek myth and legend, are themselves sufficient to justify the

belief of those students of prehistoric India who declare that a kernel of actual fact, albeit small, is enshrined in the tales and legends of the vanished past. For example, Dr. Barnett confesses his conviction that the BhArata war, though obscured by fable, was a real historical event: and speaking generally, scholars are more inclined to adopt in relation to Indian tradition the views which Caxton once expressed in relation to the legend of king Arthur. It will not do, he said in effect, to dismiss summarily all Arthurian traditions as so many old wives' tales. They are too wide-spread and persistent not to have some basis of solid fact underlying them: besides, the people who believe them, love them, and write of them, cannot all be credulous fools. These words might be applied with equal force to the story of the Great War and several other Indian traditions.

Dr. Law's work is frankly an attempt to present a detailed account of the ancient Indo-Aryan tribes which occupied the valley of the upper Ganges and its tributaries in pre-historic times. Starting from tradition, as embodied in ancient Sanskrit and Pali works, and checking it with other literary and archæological material, Dr. Law gives all the information obtainable about the Kurus, who appear as the Bharatas in the Vedic age and are connected with the Panchalas in the *Brahmanas*; the Panchalas, who were originally termed Krivis and are mentioned both in Buddhist literature and in the *Arthaśastra* of Kautilya; the Matsyas, orthodox followers of Brahmanism, who are mentioned in the *Rig Veda* and the *Brahmanas*, and are associated with the Chedis and Śurasenas in the Epics and *Purâṇas*; the Śurasenas, who are first mentioned as skilled warriors in the Code of Manu, and whose capital, Mathura, was at one time the centre of Krishna-worship and later the cradle of the Bhâgavata religion; the Chedis, who also date back to the Vedic age and later were divided into two branches, one of which occupied Bundelkhand and the other Nepal; the Vasas or Vatsas, a Rig-vedic tribe, whose capital Kausambi, not far from the modern Allahabad, became a great trade-centre in a later age: the Avantis, who are mentioned for the first time in the *Mahâbhârata* and were connected with the Yadus and Kuntis of western India; and the Usinaras, about whom little or nothing is known.

Despite the difficulties of his task, Dr. Law has contrived to compile a most interesting work. As Dr. Barnett remarks, he has spared no effort to make an exhaustive and careful collection of the materials that Indian tradition offers, together with many relevant data from other sources that will aid in the construction of a critical history. Dr Law's book needs no higher recommendation than this.

S. M. EDWARDES.

TALES FROM THE MAHABHARATA, by STANLEY RICE, with illustrations by FRANK C. PAPE. Selwyn and Blount. London, 1924.

This is a charming little book, containing renderings in verse of eight of the noteworthy legends enshrined in the *Mahâbhârata*. Mr. Rice has chosen his tales well—the Dice Match, the Birth of Sakuntala, the Story of Nala and Damayanti, the Death of Bhisma, the Legend of the Flood, the Story of Savitri, the Vision of the Dead, and the Descent into Hell. It is these tales, and others from the same vast store-house of legend and tradition, which, as Mr. Rice rightly remarks in his Introduction, "are living and throbbing in the lives of the people of India, even of those illiterate masses that toil in the fields or maintain a drab existence in the ghettos of the towns." And who knows but what some kernel of truth and hard fact underlies the two great Epics of India? Many scholars are now disposed to believe that a skeleton of real history underlies the huge mass of epic legend, and that the great war between the Kauravas and Pandavas, though much obscured by fable, was a real historical event. If this be so, the more obviously legendary tales which embellish the course of the *Mahâbhârata* narrative acquire additional meaning and importance. Moreover such stories as those which Mr. Rice has embodied in easy-flowing verse, which closely follows the meaning of the original, inculcate a high moral and are worthy to rank with the ethical teaching of any country. The stories of Nala and Damayanti and of the death of Bhisma should be known to everyone. One can only hope that Mr. Rice will publish further volumes of these tales in similar form. The story of Dhruva, which has been described as "the very jewel of star-myths," would surely lend itself to treatment. And if future instalments of the tales are embellished with illustrations, such as those which Mr. Pape has contributed to the present volume, the series will deserve a place in any library.

S. M. EDWARDES.

IDENTITY OF THE PRESENT DIALECT AREAS OF HINDUSTANI WITH THE ANCIENT JANAPADA, by DHIRENDRA VARMA. Allahabad 1925.

This useful little pamphlet of the Allahabad University takes the statements of Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*, and shows therefrom that the modern dialects of Hindustani coincide almost completely with the ancient Janapadas of Madhyadeśa. That is to say, it shows that the people and their languages have not changed during all the times of which there is any history. It is an interesting study.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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TO

PART DCLXXXVII-A. VOL. LIV—1925.

# INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

*Edited by*

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*G.D. stands for the Supplement, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India, pp. 191—211.*
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*P.E.W. stands for the Supplement, Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, pp. 85—92.*

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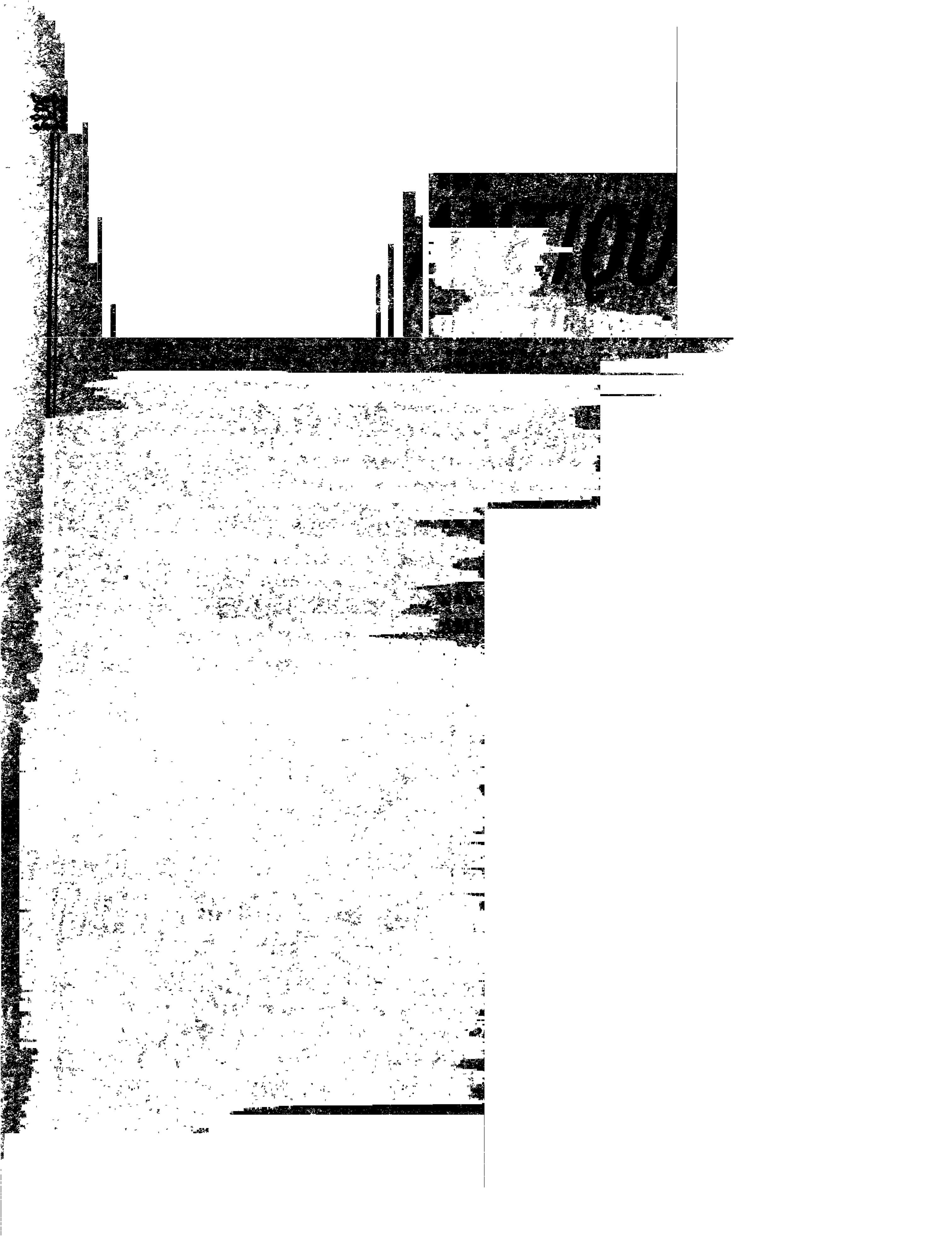
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IN

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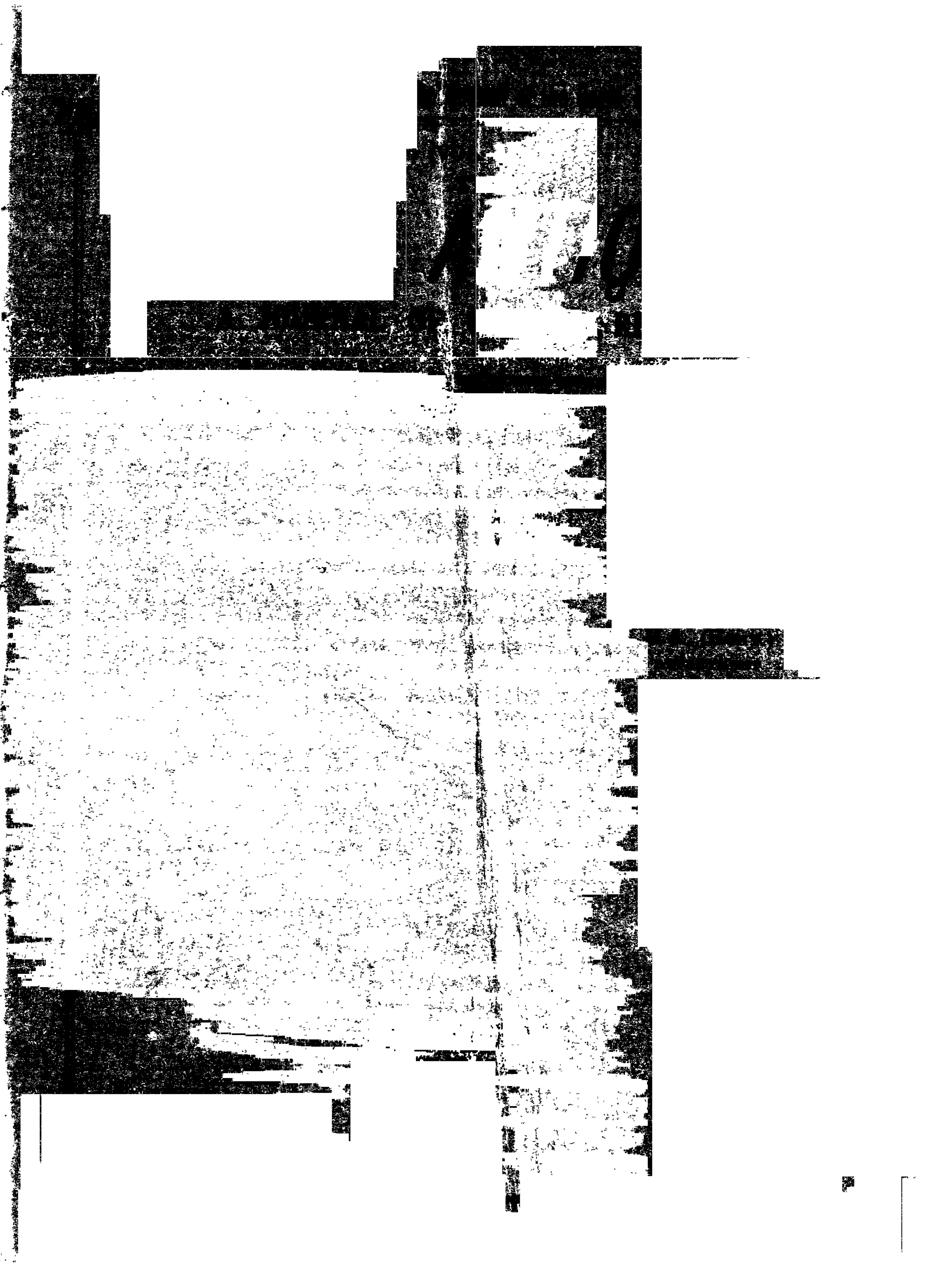
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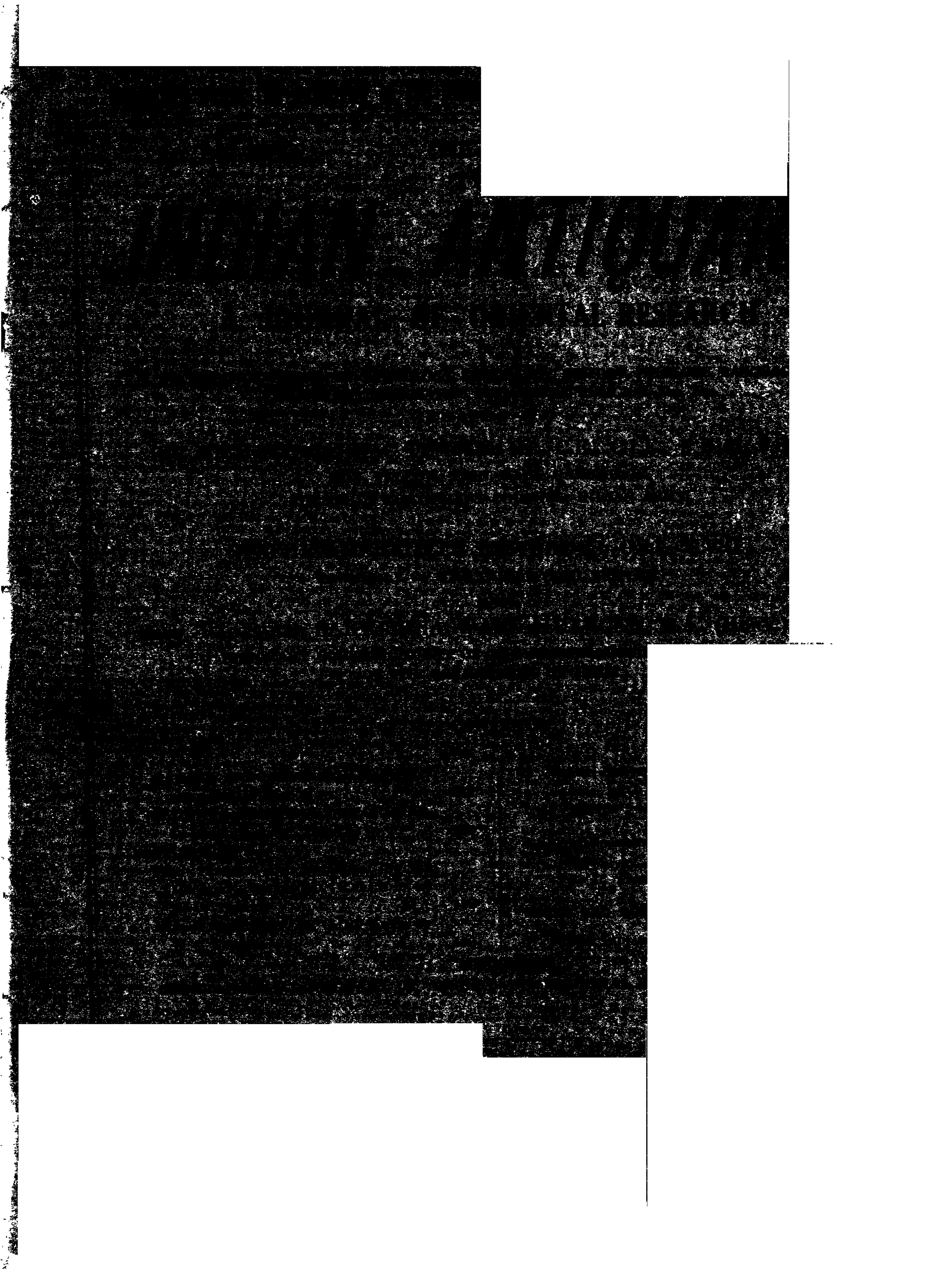
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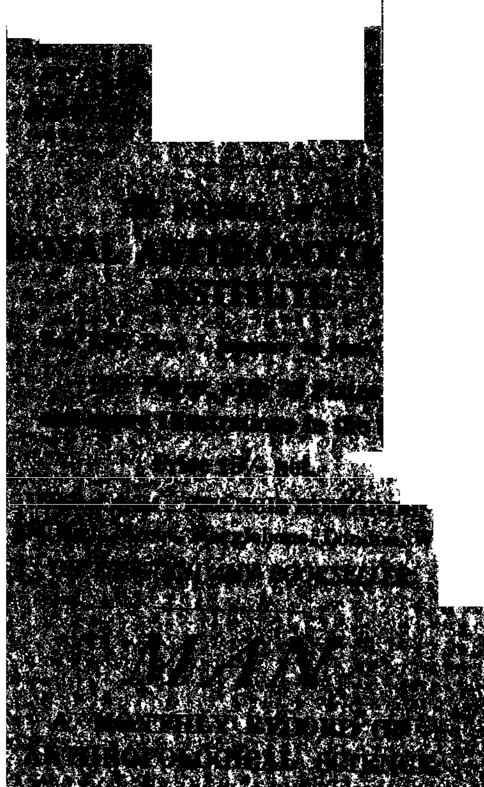
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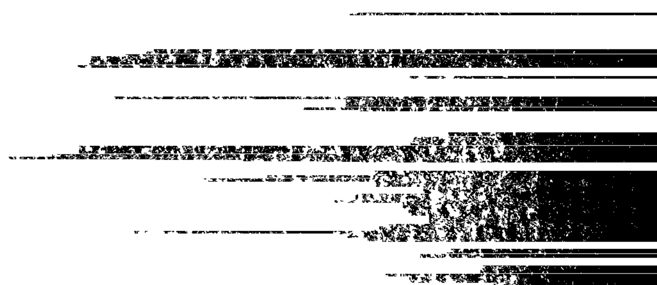
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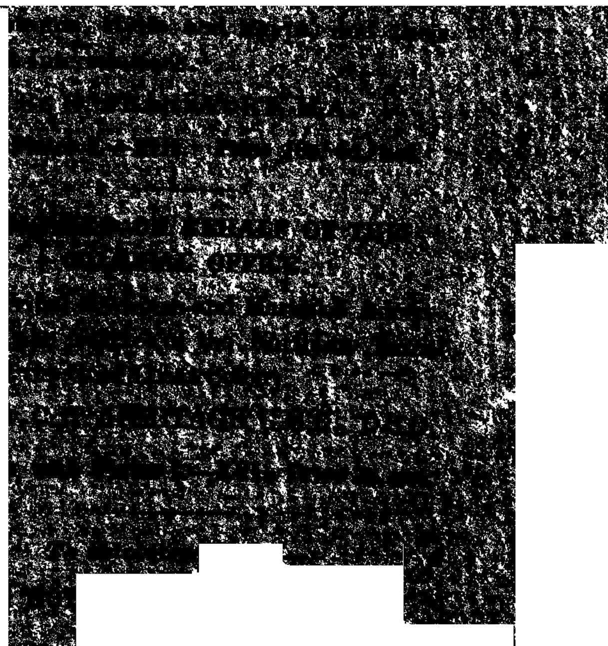
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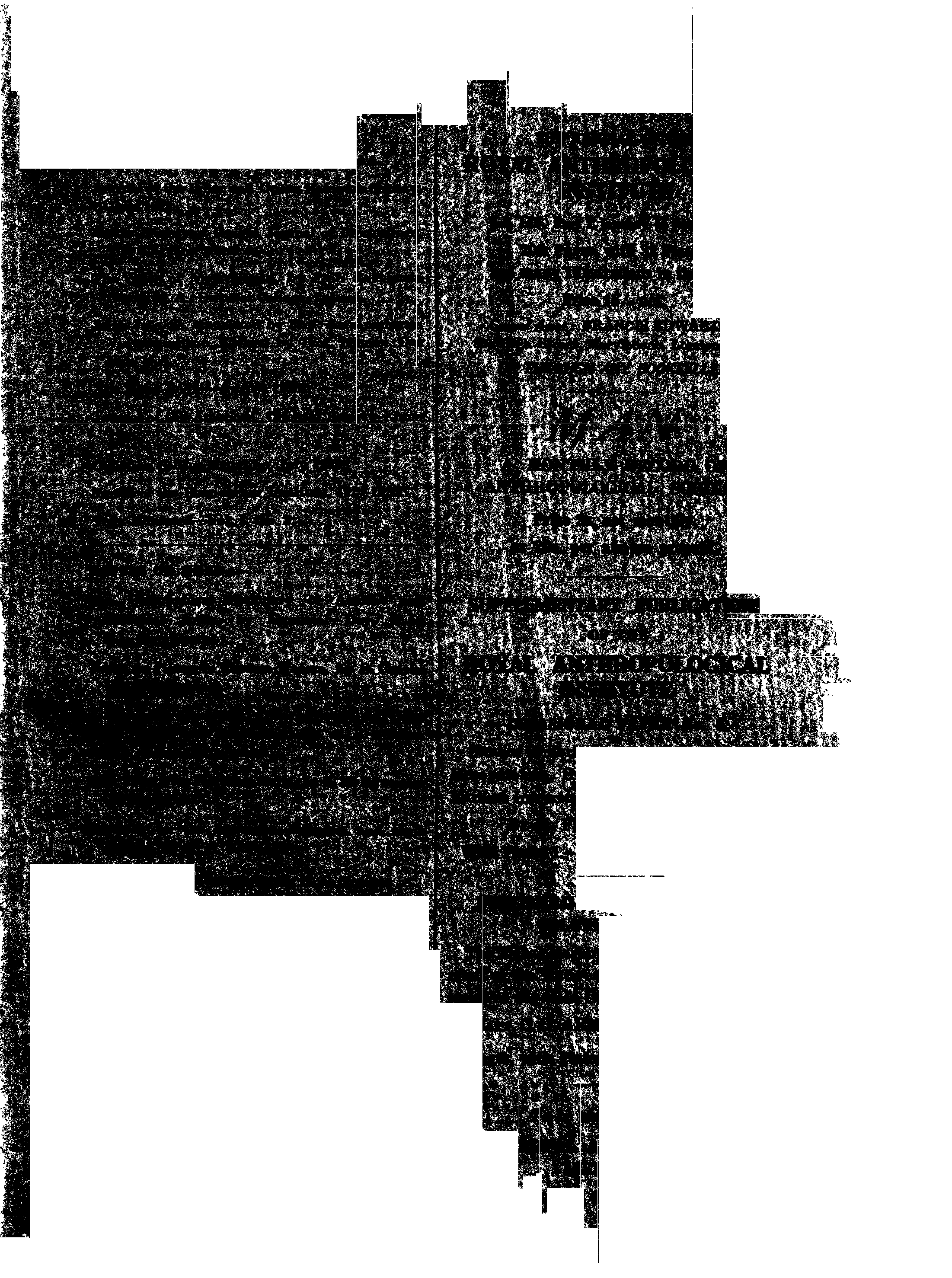
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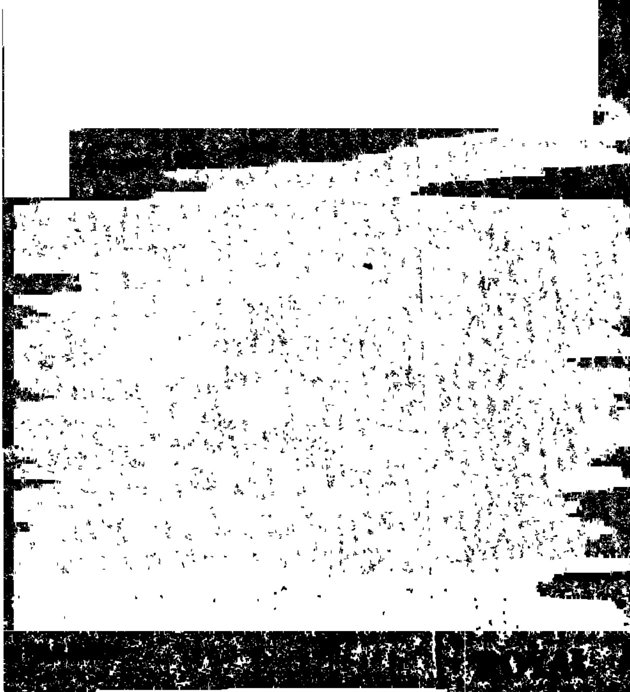
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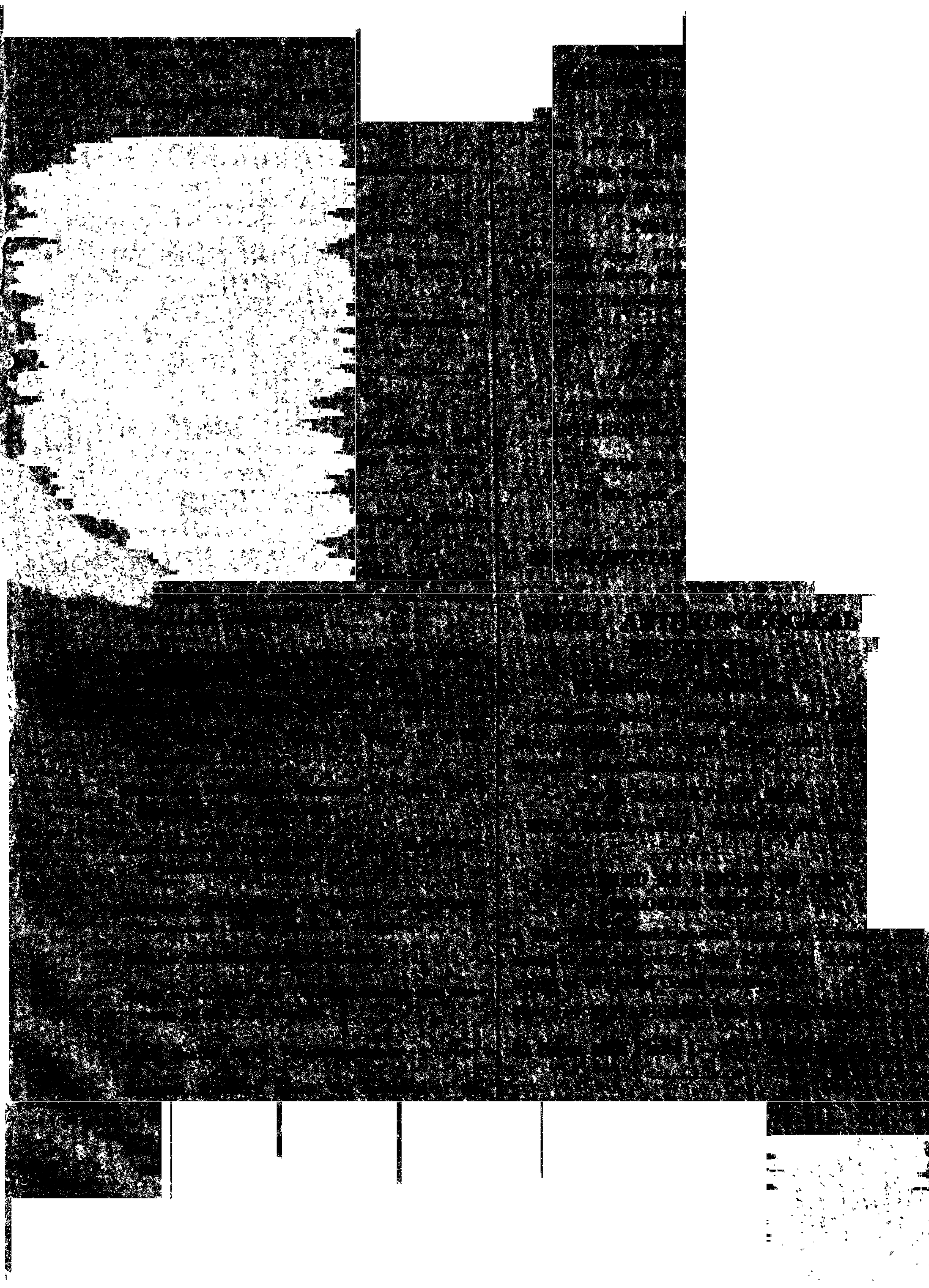
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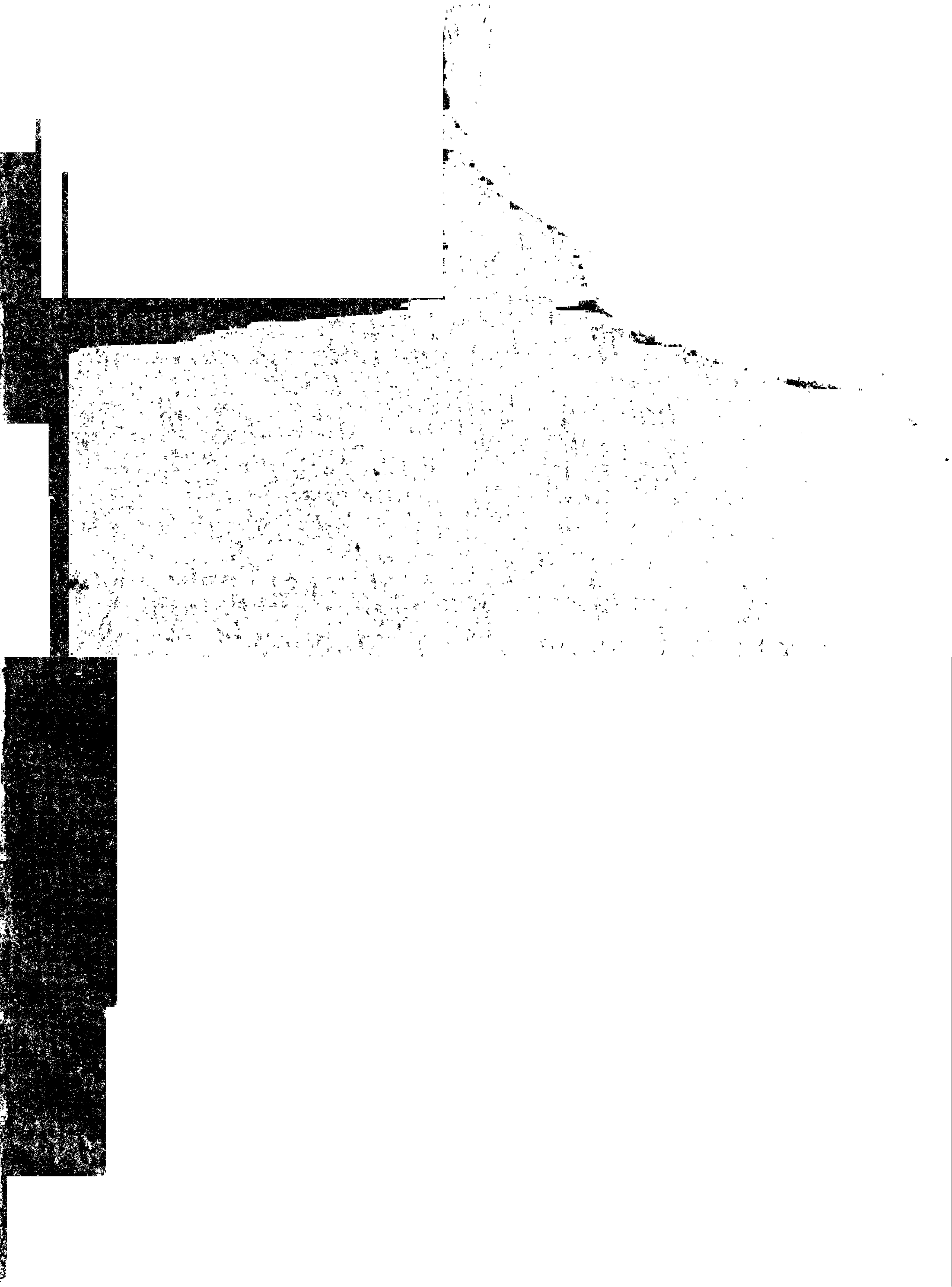
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